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The American University in Cairo  
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Language Attitudes Among Urban Moroccan Youth Following Recent Developments in  
Language Policy and Linguistic Landscape

A Thesis Submitted to the  
Department of Applied Linguistics  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts  
in TESOL

By  
Rashid Abdullah

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## ABSTRACT

This study explores the important and complex relationship between language attitudes, language policy (LP) and linguistic landscape (LL) (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy 2006). In 2011, following the Arab Spring and the shockwaves it created in the region, a referendum on constitutional reforms was held in the Kingdom of Morocco. The reforms led to the recognition of the Tamazight language as an official state language, making Morocco the first nation to do so in North Africa. The Tamazight language and the Tifinagh script have become ubiquitous in major cities, particularly in the national capital, Rabat. This study surveyed and interviewed urban Moroccan youth in Rabat regarding their attitudes toward the recent changes in language policy and the alterations in their linguistic landscape. The youth were especially chosen for this study because of their ability to indicate future trends and inspire new linguistic paradigms. Previous studies into language attitudes in North Africa have mainly focused on competition between French and Arabic (Bentahila, 1983; Chakrani, 2010) and none has incorporated the element of linguistic landscape and its ability to alter attitudes and perceptions (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). This study primarily focuses on attitudes toward Tamazight, but also investigates attitudes toward English, French, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Moroccan Arabic (MA). Findings from the study show what appear to be a softening of negative attitudes toward Tamazight and may even signal a positive evolution of general attitudes among the urban youth population toward the indigenous language, further proving the theory that an individual's surroundings and environment impact their attitudes and perceptions over time (Shohamy, 2006).

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND DEFINITIONS

CA.....Classical Arabic

H variety..... High Variety

L variety.....Low Variety

LL.....Linguistic Landscape

LP.....Language Policy

MA.....Moroccan Arabic

MENA...Middle East and North Africa

MSA.....Modern Standard Arabic

Amazigh - Ethnic community in Morocco that speaks Tamazight (can also refer to the language).

This is the insider term or in-group term used.

Berber - A term used primarily by the West to describe the indigenous populations of North Africa.

This is the outsider term or out-group term used.

Tamazight - Language spoken by the Berber or Amazigh community.

Tifinagh - Script used for writing Tamazight.

## Chapter 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Overview

Attitudes to language can be positive or negative and can have a profound impact on whether a language survives, thrives or ultimately disappears, making them an important and interesting concept to research. Language policy (LP) and linguistic landscape (LL) are also important factors related to attitudes and have been shown to influence perceptions and language behavior (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Bourhis, 1997; Crystal, 2002; Ennaji, 2005). The concept of language attitudes encompasses almost every aspect of sociolinguistics, from how we understand our position in a community to how well we preserve the different languages in our environment (Garrett, 2010). If we can uncover a speech community's attitudes toward certain languages, the potential motivations, and the context of those attitudes, we can begin to understand and create a sense of that community's ideology and the status of the different languages in their environment.

The linguistic environment in Morocco is incredibly complex involving competing codes, dialects, and ideologies. Standard Arabic is the official state language of the country; however, the majority of the population speaks a regional low variety dialect called Darija. French is the language of commerce, the elite and is also the primary language used in tertiary education in the country. English has recently begun to gain in importance in the kingdom due to globalization and increased trade and cooperation with countries such as China, India and Brazil. Finally, the language of the indigenous Amazigh population in Morocco, speak an Afro-Asiatic language called Tamazight, which itself has several distinct varieties.

The Tamazight language is the indigenous language in Morocco and was the primary language in the Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia) until the Islamic conquests at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE. Although Arabicization soon followed after the conquest, Tamazight has remained an important and widely spoken language in Morocco and the Maghreb region up to the present day 1,500 years later. This study investigates the recent developments in language policy, how they have led to modifications in the linguistic landscape of the country, and the potential effects these changes may have had on attitudes. This study examines attitudes among Moroccan youth raised in urban environments via a questionnaire and interviews, and explores the potential links between language policy, linguistic landscape and attitudes.

## **1.2 Context of the Problem**

### **1.2.1 Language Attitudes and Language Ideology**

Attitudes toward high variety prestige languages and non-standard low variety languages are important markers that help reveal attitudes and ideology. Standard high variety Western languages like French and English are extremely important and carry high levels of prestige in North Africa, despite persistent attempts to promote Arabic and Arabicize instruction in the schools (Ennaji, 2005). French and particularly English seem to be gaining in prestige and status in North Africa and have endured to the present day in spite of a painful colonial past (Bassiouney, 2009). However, Tamazight, Moroccan Arabic and even Modern Standard Arabic have struggled to maintain relevance, especially in more affluent urban speech communities in Morocco (Chakrani, 2010).

Views and perceptions on languages and groups that use specific dialects or codes are all a part of language ideology and directly relate to how individuals orient and realize their

identities within a given community (Suleiman, 2013). Individual identities are based on group ideologies and vice versa; group ideologies are based on the identities of its members. Analyzing features and attitudes of groups and its respective members can help paint a picture of a speech community and its individual members.

Attitudes towards codes or languages can be ascertained by investigating the characteristics attributed to speakers of that code or language. This information can be used to analyze and determine a participant's attitude toward the language or code. Characteristics are generally divided into two distinct categories, status traits like modern, open-minded, intelligent and solidarity traits like honest, patriotic, or friendly. One way we can investigate these attitudes and reveal which traits are associated with which codes is by using a matched-guise test.

Matched-guise tests have been used internationally since the 1970s and are an effective way to covertly reveal private attitudes (Garrett, 2010).

Sociolinguists examine identity by analyzing the shared views, attitudes and beliefs of a specific community (Edwards, 2009). However, identity in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) can be more of a challenge to pinpoint than identity in more homogenous regions like Scandinavia, for several reasons. First, the current borders that make up the MENA region were created by colonial powers and largely ignored ethnic and linguistic differences. This is in stark contrast to the way nations were created in Europe, which were largely determined by these two differences (Anderson, 2006). As a result, "more than one ethnicity i.e. politicized cultural identity may exist within the same state" (Suleiman, 2003, p.6). In Lebanon, for example, Sunni, Shia, Druze and Christian populations all live in the same borders delineated after the second World War by France and England, where little attention was paid to the differences among the

various communities. There are numerous countries in the MENA region and around the world that are dyadic or triadic countries e.g. nations such as Canada, Belgium and Morocco that have two or more prominent languages that compete over linguistic resources (Bassiouney, 2009). This competition can sometimes lead to substantial shifts in attitudes, choice and even language death (Crystal, 2000).

There are several reasons why languages disappear. Some languages cease to exist due to population loss such as war, famine or disease. However, language death can also occur due to cultural assimilation, where one dominant culture erodes and erases another (Crystal, 2000). Dominant cultures enter a new area through various methods including immigration, military invasion and urbanization.

Big cities which are a global trend are attracting more and more people from rural areas to large urban centers. The dominant culture or ideology in these urban centers, along with the dominant languages or codes, imposes itself on local communities and populations it comes into contact with. Recent transplants must learn to adapt and survive in this new and sometimes hostile environment. This competition in metropolises can alter attitudes, present challenges for language maintenance and language revitalization efforts, and may even lead to language death in some cases. Attitudes formed in various speech communities can also hinder or assist in the implementation of language policy and can often times determine whether a particular policy succeeds or fails (Errihani, 2008; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004).

### 1.2.2 Language Policy

Language policies at the national level are driven by four common and co-existing forces: national (or ethnic) ideology or claims of identity, the role of English as a global language, a nation's sociolinguistic situation, and an increasing interest in linguistic rights within the human and civil rights framework (Spolsky, 2004).

Language policy in Morocco has gone through several stages since its independence in 1956. The policy immediately after independence up until the early 2000s revolved around Arabization. For over 40 years Morocco, like many other North African countries, promoted, facilitated and forced the use of Arabic language on its citizens (Marley, 2004). Arabic was seen as a unifying language and an answer to the influence of French during the days of the protectorate. Tamazight was in large part ignored but was also seen by some – particularly the Islamist parties – as a potential area for division in the country (Ennaji, 2005). Morocco has the largest concentration of Amazigh peoples in North Africa and the Tamazight language is spoken by millions throughout the country. The French also tried to use Amazigh identity as a way to divide the Arab and Amazigh populations during the period of French colonization. This strategy ultimately backfired on the French, but the attempt and the dilemma it created still resonates with many citizens.

In 1999, King Mohammed VI ascended the throne and almost immediately began instituting reforms. A year after his ascension “[t]he Charter for Educational Reform recognized the value and necessity of other languages already present in Morocco and set out guidelines for improving the teaching and learning of these languages in Moroccan schools” (Marley, 2004 p.

25). In 2011, following the Arab Spring and the shockwaves it created in the region, a referendum on constitutional reforms was held in the country.

Shortly after the referendum a new constitution was drafted and amazingly, Tamazight was recognized as an official state language. Morocco was the only country in North Africa to recognize a language other than Arabic as an official state language until 2016 when Algeria also recognized Tamazight. This shift in policy in Morocco has had several implications on education policy and transformed the linguistic landscape of the country. It remains to be seen what kind of implications the Algerian declaration might have on education policy in that country in the future.

### **1.2.3 Linguistic Landscape**

The linguistic landscape of a nation or territory refers to the presence and importance of languages in public and commercial spaces e.g. advertisements, road signs, billboards (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). The linguistic landscape of Morocco has undergone significant changes that coincided with changes to the constitution in 2011, which relate to language policy and requirements to use more Tifinagh on public signage. Public road signs in the country were updated to include the Tamazight language and the Tifinagh script, the script used to write Tamazight, following the recent constitutional reforms. This has created an intense debate on which languages should be used in public spaces around the country. Arguments for and against the recent changes regularly take place on social media and the internet. Government buildings and service centers are now required to both display and provide accommodation for Amazigh speakers.



However, the commercial spaces in the country have not shifted as much as the public spaces. The vast majority of advertisements are in French or Modern Standard Arabic, which is likely a result of the fact that French is a prestige language and written MSA being one of the most widely understood languages in the country. For now, the change has been mostly “top down” and not “bottom up” (Shohamy, 2006). In other words, the increased presence of Tamazight is due to government policy and not the increased relevance of the language. However, Shohamy (2006) points out that the presence of a specific language in public spaces does demonstrate its importance to the state and can influence public perceptions over time. The increased presence of a code or language due to government policy can sometimes lead to increased perceptions of prestige. The opposite is true as well, if a code is ignored and remains hidden from the public eye its level of prestige can diminish over time.

#### 1.2.4 Amazigh Context

According to Webster’s dictionary the term Berber may come from the ancient Greek word “*barbarous*”, which was used to identify or label anyone who was not Greek. The Tamazight word *Amazigh*, which means “free person”, is an overarching term used to describe the Berber communities in North Africa. However, it is a lesser known term in the west which is why a lot of previous research has used the term Berber and not Amazigh. The two terms are thus synonymous, although the use of each term does indicate a particular stance toward the language and its speakers. Those who use the term Berber are usually unfamiliar with the community and its history, while those who use the term Amazigh are most commonly either linguistic scholars or members of the Amazigh community. The Berber or Amazigh community in Morocco is a diverse and unique body politic and constitutes between 40 and 50 percent of the Moroccan population according to recent statistics (Ennaji, 2005). They have a rich history that

dates back to the ancient Phoenicians, and a good percentage of them are both multilingual and multiethnic. One of the goals for this project is to analyze this diverse and incredibly interesting group, their place in Moroccan history and society, and to explore how their language and identity effects the labyrinthine linguistic situation in Morocco.

In addition, this study aims to add to the body of research on language attitudes and language ideology in Morocco. Studies by Chakrani (2010) and Errihani (2008) investigated language ideology and language attitudes in Morocco and have shown that there are negative attitudes among the general population towards the Tamazight language. However, the two aforementioned studies were conducted before the changes to the constitution in 2011 and the subsequent modification of the linguistic landscape.

### **1.3 Problem Statement and Research Questions**

#### **1.3.1 Statement of the problem**

Although there are several studies relating to attitudinal research on language in Morocco, all of them were conducted before the constitutional changes made in 2011. This study is also unique in that it intends to examine attitudes in the context of recent developments in language policy and linguistic landscape. The question of Amazigh identity and the survival of the Tamazight language has of late become a very salient one after the Arab spring and there are even declarations of an Amazigh Renaissance (Jay 2015). While there may be signs of an Amazigh Renaissance, it is undeniable that there are also signs and factors contributing to its decline.

One factor contributing to its decline is globalization, a relatively new phenomenon in Morocco, that has seen thousands of Amazigh people move to urban cities across the country. This has and will continue to have an effect on the attitudes towards certain languages and on identity and language preservation (Ennaji, 2005). A large portion of the Amazigh youth have already grown up in these large cosmopolitan areas and many more are being born each day. The new generation in Morocco has experienced the shift in language policy and the recognition of Amazigh, making them an interesting group to investigate. Research is necessary in order to better understand how or if these shifts in language policy and linguistic landscape affected the youth community in Morocco. Have attitudes remained the same or have they evolved?

### **1.3.2 Research Questions**

This study investigates language attitudes among the urban Moroccan youth community after important alterations to the constitution and subsequent changes in language policy and linguistic landscape. The research questions that guide this study are as follows:

1. What are the language attitudes of Moroccan youth raised in urban environments toward the different languages in Morocco, particularly Tamazight?
2. What are the attitudes of urban Moroccan youth toward the recent developments in language policy and linguistic landscape?
3. Have recent developments in language policy and the linguistic landscape had any effect on language attitudes toward Tamazight among the urban Moroccan youth community?

### 1.3.3 Rationale for Research Questions

In order to interpret the results of the study, it is important to examine both the linguistic landscape and the shift in language policy in Morocco. Only overt attitudes were tested since the study is focused on overt and explicit shifts in attitude towards Tamazight. Overt attitudes were tested by a questionnaire and group interviews were conducted to give context and support to the quantitative data.

### 1.3.4 Construct Definitions of Relevance

This study explores attitudes, ideology and ethnolinguistic vitality among other important linguistic concepts. The constructs definitions of relevance to this study are as follows:

Language Attitudes - Language attitudes are overt and covert opinions, ideas and possible prejudices that speakers may have to a specific language, dialect or code (Garrett, 2010).

Language Ideology – Language ideology is a set of beliefs with respect to a language expressed by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure (Silverstein, 1979).

Speech Community - A speech community consists of cohesive groups to which members have a clear consciousness of belonging (Milroy, 1987).

Language Policy – The political policies of a nation with regard to language (Spolsky, 2004).

Linguistic Landscape – The visibility of public and commercial signs in a country or territory, including public road signs and commercial advertisements (Landry and Bourhis, 1997).

Linguistic Index – Connotations or constructs that are connected to a specific language or code (Silverstein, 1979).

Ethnolinguistic Vitality – Ethnolinguistic vitality pertains to attitudes and behaviors of interethnic groups in relation to socio-political and socio-linguistic factors that affect the overall status of a language. (Giles and Coupland, 1991).

Prestige – Prestige is the level of respect afforded to a code or language with respect to other codes or languages in a speech community. (Trudgill, 1972).

Domains – Domains refer to the different environments and contexts where speech acts take place (e.g. home, work, church). (Spolsky, 2004).

### **1.3.5 Operational Definitions**

**Language Policy** – Constitutional changes recognizing Tamazight as an official state language of Morocco.

**Linguistic Landscape** – Systematic changes in public and commercial signage. Following the official recognition of the language Tamazight the Tifinagh script was added to all of the highway and road signs in Morocco. Examples detailing changes i.e. the increased presence of the Tifinagh script in official government space, on government signage, and commercial material.

**Language Attitudes** – Analysis of attitudes or opinions expressed by interviewees in the questionnaire and interviews (direct testing). Positive or negative statements made by interviewees in regard to developments in LL and LP.

### 1.3.6 Delimitations of Research

This study explored language attitudes in the Moroccan youth community in urban areas and investigated the potential ramifications of certain shifts in LP and the LL on language attitudes within said community. This study did not investigate differences between the different Amazigh sub-groups (i.e. Rifi, Soussi, Shilha, Tuareg); instead it focused on the Moroccan youth community in urban centers. This study may not be generalized to other Amazigh populations in North Africa considering that there are too many historical, geographic and political differences for that to occur. The questionnaire results may not be accurate representations of attitudes because of their direct nature and format. Participants were at times hesitant in answering questions due to the delicate nature of the subject. This study is not attempting to prove a direct cause and effect between the different variables. The aim of the study is to investigate whether a shift in attitudes has taken place, and if one is revealed, to present some possible reasons for that shift backed by empirical data.

Questionnaire reliability analysis was not done on the questionnaire; therefore, there may be items on the questionnaire that lack a certain level of reliability. In addition, there were few negative questions or statements presented in the questionnaire in order to utilize reverse scoring. Finally, a five-point Likert scale was used in this study not a four. As a result, some of the quantitative data might not accurately represent positive or negative sentiments toward the different statements, especially if respondents predominantly chose neutral.

## Chapter 2 Review of the Literature

This chapter will review literature that is necessary and relevant to this thesis. It will discuss language ideologies, overt language attitudes, language policy, and linguistic landscape. This chapter will review literature that shows the interplay between language policy, linguistic landscape and language ideology. In addition, a look at research focusing on North Africa and Morocco will be discussed.

### 2.1 Language Ideologies

Ideologies are a set of beliefs held by a specific individual, group or community. These ideas or beliefs are heavily influenced by culture, power and religion. Language ideologies like ideologies are sets of beliefs held by an individual or group; however, language ideologies focus on all the facets that encompass language. According to Silverstein, “linguistic ideologies are ‘a set of beliefs’ about language articulated by a user’s rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein, 1979, p. 193). The way someone speaks and the conscious and unconscious decisions they make before an utterance are all related to their personal ideologies.

Conceptualizations of the term have also focused on the importance of the socio-political aspects of language and ideology and not simply on the structure and use. Irvine (1989) sees language ideology as “the cultural system of ideas about the social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests” (p. 255). The conscious and unconscious thought processes are an amalgamation of ideas relating to power, prestige, politics, identity and culture that all constitute an individual’s ideology about language.

For example, a study by Chakrani (2013) shows how the ideology of modernity affects language attitudes among Moroccans. Chakrani states that “the ideology of modernity affects Moroccans' attitudes, promoting the foreign languages of French and English and disenfranchising the local codes of Moroccan and Berber” (p.431). His paper shows how the multilingual elite in Morocco represent the ideology of modernity, and how that image influences language attitudes and promotes the European languages of French and English. Chakrani’s paper shows the link and correlation between ideologies and attitudes. Attitudes help create ideologies, but attitudes are also shaped by prevailing ideologies. There is a constant reflexive relationship between ideologies and attitudes.

## **2.2 Language Ideologies in Morocco**

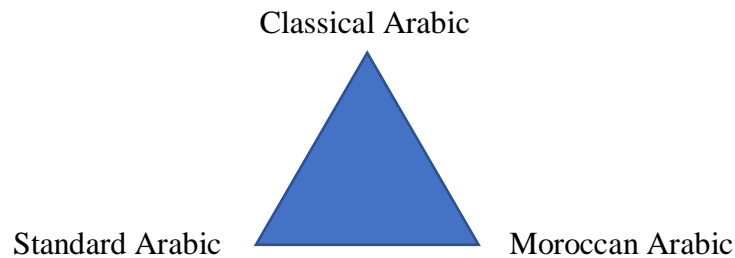
Morocco is an interesting and paradoxical example of standardization. As of 2011, the two official languages in Morocco were Tamazight and Classical Arabic (CA); however, neither of them is considered the ‘highest prestige variety’ (Chakrani, 2010). Instead French is given that honor due to the fact that CA and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) are unable to challenge it in domains like science and technology (Ennaji, 2005). “French tends to dominate the linguistic market and to be imposed de facto as the ‘official language’” (Ennaji, 2005, p. 98). “In this context French predominates in many vital sectors like administration, education, business, and the media” (Ennaji, 2005 p. 201).

Classical Arabic is a standard form that remains important to Moroccan Arabic speakers and Amazigh speakers alike due to its religious connotations (Ennaji, 2005). In fact, CA is important throughout North Africa and is highly valued because of its beauty, eloquence and its ability to connect people to Islam (Haeri, 2003).



There are two other forms of Arabic that will be addressed other than CA and they are Moroccan Arabic (MA) and MSA. MSA is mainly used in government public spaces, TV and radio, which preserves its importance among Moroccans (Ennaji, 2005). CA is unable to perform these functions because it is a fossilized variety and is impractical. Several scholars including Ennaji assert that “Classical Arabic has a rigid morphology and structure characterized by various case inflections” (2005, p. 53). Thus, CA is limited to the domain of religion and religious institutions only (Ennaji, 2005). MA is the most widely spoken language in the country although it is not standardized, which limits its functionality. For example, it is not accepted for use in schools for instruction or news broadcasts.

There are three distinct varieties of Arabic that co-exist in Morocco which create a triglossic situation which are mentioned in Ennaji (1991; 2001):



*Figure 1. Three Varieties of Arabic in Morocco*

Moroccan Arabic is spoken by the majority of the population and approximately 50% of the Amazigh population (Ennaji, 2005). In the rural mountainous areas of Morocco, Tamazight is the primary language, and many do not know how to speak MA. This is of course not the case with the Amazigh population in urban centers where knowledge of MA is necessary to function in day to day life. MA is referred to as “Darija” in Morocco and is the colloquial language. There are several varieties present in the country. The two major categories that exist can be divided

between rural and urban, but there are also varying versions of these as well. The dialects are divided among several distinct regions. Some of them include the Tanjawi dialect of the north, the Marrakeshi and Agadari dialect of the south, the Fassi dialect of Fes and the Rabati and Casawi dialects of Rabat and Casablanca. Moroccan Arabic and its varying versions have low prestige and are a low variety, because it is a non-standardized dialect and is often associated with illiteracy (Ennaji, 2005). People who only speak MA often come from poorer areas in Morocco, both rural and urban, and many of them cannot read or write in any language.

### **2.3 Language Attitudes**

Attitudes toward languages are based on the assumption of a standard language form or high variety. The standard form is commonly equated with the “highest prestige variety” although it is not always the case (Milroy, 2001). These standard forms are legitimized via the government, their use in the marketplace or business community and by their dominance in certain domains like education, home and school.

#### **2.3.1 Perspectives on Attitudes**

Language ideologies and attitudes shape the way language is perceived on the individual and community levels. For example, language indexes are sets of associations that are connected or affiliated with a certain linguistic form or variety and are influenced by the dominant language ideologies present in the society. When speakers choose a given code they invoke certain qualities and characteristics (Woolard, 2004). The process of investigating various codes and how they can be linked or associated with different users or groups is complex. Language ideologies play a dominant role in creating group identities and language attitudes, but beliefs

can differ within groups in a society depending on their social standing. It is important to note that individual variation can result from several different factors including access to education, family, life experiences, class and other factors. For example, when someone speaks an H variety like standard French in Morocco they are typically seen as being from the upper class and to be well educated (Ennaji, 2005).

Identity emerges as speakers use speech to position themselves in interactions (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Speakers “perform” acts of identity in order to connect or affiliate themselves with certain associations or certain communities. The reasons or motivations of the user are of particular interest to sociolinguists because they often highlight or uncover issues related to identity, power and other such relevant topics of interest (Woolard, 2004). In essence, identity is co-constructed by the speaker’s words and actions and the interlocutor’s perceptions and cultural associations related to the construction of those words or acts. An individual or community’s identity is continuously in a state of flux, which is why continuous research into language attitudes is important. Dominant ideologies can shift over time for various reasons and in turn can reshape language use, language policy and attitudes.

### **2.3.2 Language Attitudes in Morocco**

The general consensus among sociolinguists who have conducted research in Morocco is that French is the highest prestige language in the country because it dominates the fields of business and education (Ennaji, 2005; Chakrani, 2010; Errihani; Marley, 2003). English and French, followed by Standard Arabic, are seen as the most useful languages for attaining employment and economic advancement. Classical Arabic has prestige as well, but only due to its strong affiliation with purity and religion. Modern Standard Arabic still has prestige but is

slowly losing importance to French and English (Chakrani, 2010). Moroccan Arabic and Tamazight are the two low prestige languages or (L) varieties in the country and are associated with being uneducated and coming from the lower classes of society (Marley, 2003). For instance, studies by Chakrani (2010) and Errihani (2008) both show negative attitudes towards Tamazight and MA. In their respective studies when respondents were asked whether Berber should be taught in school the respondents either disagreed or stated neutrality. The majority of the neutral responses, however, can be attributed to participants wanting to appear politically correct. Errihani (2008) claims that the majority of the participants may have wanted to avoid displaying an overtly negative attitude towards Tamazight. MA was also seen as one of the least useful languages in both studies, particularly in the domain of business.

Attitudes towards standard Arabic are closely related to language policy and the process of Arabization that took place shortly after independence. Modern Standard Arabic was used by the government as a unifier; it helped create a national identity as a newly-independent Arab country and was viewed as a sign of stability at the time. Due to efforts by the French to divide the country along ethnic and linguistic lines, MSA as an official state language was seen as the only sensible option (Ennaji, 2005).

Presently, MSA is mainly used in government public spaces (TV and radio) but it is experiencing limits on its range and influence in other domains. It is not the primary language of business in the country and it is becoming less and less important in the domain of education (Chakrani, 2010). French and English private schools are popular in urban areas and French is also taught as a second language in public schools. Although MSA is used in the teaching of the humanities and social sciences, all higher education STEM (science, technology, engineering

and math) subjects are taught in French in Morocco at the tertiary level. The majority of respondents in Chakrani's 2010 study are in favor of a French-English-SA system for education. A minority, mainly from the lower classes, would like to keep SA as the primary language of education but also concede the importance of French and English.

According to Benthahila, (1983) French was found to be the most modern and most useful language for education in Morocco and that sentiment continues to the present day. Standard French was imposed on Morocco during the colonial period (1912-1956) when Morocco was a protectorate of France. During this time, it was the only language of the government and of education. It is viewed by many as the language of the colonizers and therefore carries with it some negative connotations; however, studies on attitudes in Morocco indicate that French is a prestige language and (H) variety and attitudes towards it are mostly positive (Chakrani,2010; Ennaji, 2008; Marley, 2003).

## 2.4 Language Policy

Language policy can be broken down into three parts: the linguistic practices of a given speech community, its language ideologies – the set of beliefs the community has regarding language and language use, and the different policies instituted by governments or institutions to influence or affect the two components stated above (Spolsky, 2004). Haugen (1966) divided the field into four components: the selection and identification of a “language problem”, the implementation of policy addressing the problem and the continued reformulation of the original policy.

In the case of Morocco, the language problem was the indifference shown to the Tamazight language. As the indigenous language spoken by millions of Moroccans many believed that it should have been given official status from the very beginning of independence from France. Indeed, the Amazigh population was vital in the struggle for independence of the country. Activists fought for recognition for many years but were largely ignored. However, things started to change in the early 2000s.

In 2004, the government tried to address the problem by allowing the language to be taught in primary schools in predominantly Amazigh areas for the first time. The continued reformulation of that policy came in 2011 when Tamazight was officially recognized in the constitution. This is an example of “top down” language policy and is intended to modify the prevailing language ideologies of the country (Shohamy, 2006). Whether it has or will achieve this aim remains to be seen and obtaining a contemporaneous picture of the status of Tamazight as a language whose status is in a constant state of flux is a major focus of this research.

Similar implementations of language policy can be seen in the examples of Israel with regard to Hebrew and French in the Quebec province of Canada. In 1970 French was declared the official language of Quebec and a government agency was created to promote and assist the revitalization of the French language (Spolsky, 2004). This policy ultimately succeeded as did the language revitalization policy in Israel; however, they are usually taken as the exceptions to the rule and not the standard (Spolsky, 2004). See unsuccessful attempts in Ireland, the United States with regard to Native American languages and numerous examples in Africa (Spolsky, 2004; Shohamy, 2006).

Language policy does not exist in a vacuum and is closely related to several socio-political factors. Languages and language policy exist in an environment and must contend with the realities of that environment. “Language ecology” also known as “linguistic ecology”, refers to the interaction of languages with their respective environments and is an important concept to analyze when discussing sociolinguistics and issues regarding language policy (Haugen, 1972). An accurate summary of the aforementioned ideas is provided by Spolsky (2004):

Language and language policy both exist in (and language management must contend with) highly complex, interacting and dynamic contexts, the modification of any other part of which may have correlated effects (and causes) on any other part. A host of non-linguistic factors (political, demographic, social, religious, cultural, psychological, bureaucratic and so on) regularly account for any attempt by persons or groups to intervene in the language practices and beliefs of other persons or groups, and for the subsequent changes that do not occur.

(p. 6)

In order to better understand the environment in which a language policy exists sociolinguists investigate language choice and attitudes in different domains (Spolsky, 2004). Sociolinguistic domains consist of three main components: the location, the participants and the topic (Haugen 1966). Where does this speech take place? Who is participating in the speech act? And what is it they are talking about? The domains are divided into four main categories: family life, school environment, the workplace and the domain of religion (Spolsky, 2004). Investigating language use in the different domains allows sociolinguists to provide context. Linguistic behaviors and language choice in each of the domains can impact language policy and vice versa language policy can impact language use in the various domains.

The most important domain in relation to language policy is the world of education. Governments through laws or decrees usually institute or require a particular standard language to be used as the language of instruction in all schools. This is referred to as a language education policy (LEP) and encompasses all of the decisions included in issues of education such as

which language(s) to teach and learn in schools? When (at what age) to begin teaching these languages? For how long (number of years and hours of study) should they be taught? By whom, for whom (who is qualified to teach and who is entitled or obligated to learn) and how (which methods, materials, tests, etc.)?

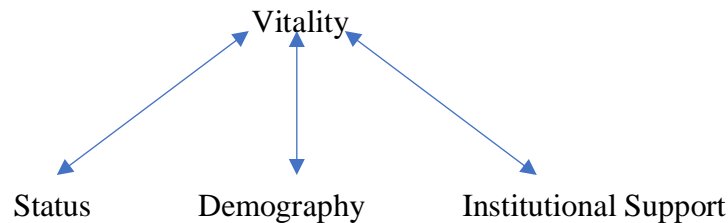
(Shohamy, 2006, p. 76)

The language policy in Morocco is very similar to many other policies in Africa, which is described as underdeveloped, haphazard, inconsistent and at times irrational (Ennaji, 2005). For example, Morocco has switched from Arabic to French during the colonial period, back to Arabic during the period of Arabization after independence, and now vacillates between French and Arabic (Ennaji, 2005). This has had consequences on the Moroccan populace and to this day Morocco has one of the highest illiteracy rates in North Africa, currently at around 32 percent of the population. Language policy in Morocco can be divided into three periods: the period before French colonization, during French occupation (1912-1956) and the Arabization campaign starting in the 1960s. Ennaji (2005) identified 3 distinct periods, but after the constitutional changes of 2012, a fourth needs to be added.



## 2.5 Linguistic Landscape

Landry and Bourhis (1997) began the field of linguistic landscape (LL) with their study researching the ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) of the French-Canadian minority in Canada. There were three aims to their study: to explore the idea of LL in the context of language planning and ethnolinguistic vitality and to link LL to the perceptions and language behaviors of French-Canadian minorities throughout Canada and its provinces. There are three major variables at play with regard to EV: status, demographics, and institutional support. See Figure 2 below.



Components of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Figure 2  
Source: Giles et al. (1977, p. 309)

As the figure above clearly demonstrates, institutional support for a language is directly tied to ethnolinguistic vitality. In fact, each of these variables is interconnected and a change in one of them may alter the composition of the others.

Groups that have institutional support for their culture and language, a reasonable social standing in terms of their historical past and economic situation, and a strong demography such as large numbers, and an increasing birthrate, may be considered to have ‘high vitality’

Giles and Coupland, 1991, p. 136

The Amazigh in Morocco have a reasonable social standing and have a rich history in Morocco. Furthermore, their economic situation has improved considerably over the past few decades. For example, the third richest individual in Morocco, Aziz Akhannouch, claims

Amazigh decent and is a proud and vocal member of the community, as is the current prime minister Saadeddine Othmani. That being said, the vast majority of Morocco's poor come from rural areas which contain the largest concentrations of Amazigh. The demographics are also present and estimates of the Amazigh population put the number as high as 45 percent (Sadiqi, 1997). Most figures are rough estimates because Morocco does not collect data regarding ethnicity in its census, due to its sensitive nature and potential to create divisions. Language status within the group is stable but less so outside of the group (Ennaji, 1997). Negative perceptions in past studies might be linked to a lack of institutional support.

New research is required to assess perceptions of status following the shifts in institutional support which includes LL. The presence of one's language in public "transmits symbolic messages as to the legitimacy, relevance, priority and standards of languages" (Shohamy, 2006, p.110). This may influence attitudes and how a member of that community feels about their community or language. The absence of such displays can have the opposite effect and lead to negative perceptions or feelings towards one's language or community (Landry and Bourhis, 1997).

Landry and Bourhis (1997) conclude in their study that LL is indeed "a distinct variable contributing to the sociolinguistic character of ethnolinguistic groups" (p.45). Finally, their study affirms that LL can be an important tool in reversing language shift and language maintenance. Linguistic landscape can influence perceptions of vitality, which may in turn lead to reversals in attitudes or shifts in ideologies.

## 2.6 Research Gap

The majority of research regarding language attitudes and language ideology in Morocco has been done prior to 2011. However, since 2011 major transformations in language policy have taken place in the country. These developments have led to noticeable changes in the linguistic landscape of the urban areas like Rabat and Casablanca. In addition, there are a limited number of studies investigating language attitudes towards Tamazight in particular, and none that investigate attitudes towards Tamazight after 2011 and the shift in language policy. The Chakrani study, which is one of the most recent studies, was published in 2013; however, data was collected in 2007 and 2008. Furthermore, there have been few studies investigating the potential connections between linguistic landscape and language ideology and none that have been done in the context of North Africa, except for one study (Plumlee, 2017) on the linguistic landscape of Cairo. This study aims to fill the gap in the research by investigating language attitudes following the developments in language policy in 2011.

## **Chapter 3 Methodology**

This chapter outlines the methodology and instruments that were used in this study. An explanation of the different recruitment strategies for participants and the expected makeup of the participants will also be reviewed. In order to gain insight into the different ideologies present in a community an assortment of tests including direct questionnaires and matched guise tests are utilized. Examining attitudes to languages helps sociolinguists define and determine ideologies and attitudes of speech communities

### **3.1 Method Description**

This study utilizes mixed methods and collected both quantitative and qualitative data. The aim of this study is complex; therefore, it is necessary to enlist both quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection. There are specific weaknesses to both methods and combining the two procedures can help mitigate those inherent weaknesses (Creswell, 2009). The study utilized a questionnaire for participants to answer, as well as focus group interviews. The questionnaire and interviews were used to assess overt language attitudes in the speech community. The questionnaire was converted into numerical data and eventually analyzed using descriptive statistical analysis. The study is primarily descriptive in nature and will attempt to give a detailed account of attitudes toward the codes employed in this specific discourse community, using pre-determined concepts of status, prestige, and solidarity.

In addition, two or more focus group interview sessions were conducted in order to better understand the language ideologies of the youth community in Morocco. Both focus groups consisted of both Moroccan youth that did not self-identify as Amazigh as well as those who did.

The questions in both the questionnaire and group interviews focused on issues regarding recent developments in language policy and the perception of changes related to the linguistic landscape of the country, as well as language policy.

### **3.2 Participants and Recruitment**

This study focused on Moroccan youth who grew up in an urban environment (i.e. urban centers like the capital Rabat, Casablanca, other major urban centers), and surveyed participants that self-identified as Amazigh and those who did not. The majority of participants were multilingual and all of them spoke four to five languages. Urban youth were chosen for this study because they represented an important demographic to language vitality and are representative of language trends in Morocco. Morocco, like many other countries in the global south, is rapidly urbanizing and experiencing the effects of globalization. The attitudes of youth populations that grow up in these unique environments are extremely important to analyze. They are often the populations on the forefront of language shifts and to a large extent represent the future of language use in the country.

I enlisted the help of my former employer The American Cultural Association (ACA) in order to conduct the survey and interviews. The ACA is in charge of a number of English language schools throughout the country, including the capital Rabat. This was done partly out of convenience due to my previous connection with the institution, but also because the school in Rabat has over 1,500 students, thus allowed me to find a suitable number of participants with the appropriate criteria. Participants were also enlisted through the help of social media and from my own personal network in the country. The goal was to collect data from 50 to 60 participants in

total for the questionnaire. The study conducted several focus group interviews each consisted of five to six participants, which was done in order to add some context to the quantitative data.

### **3.3 Instruments and Procedures**

#### **3.3.1 Rationale for Instruments**

This section outlines the various instruments used in the study and the rationale for each one. Direct and indirect testing are two main methodological approaches used to investigate language attitudes in a speech community. A speech community is a cohesive group to which members have a clear consciousness of belonging (Milroy, 1987) The direct testing method asks questions regarding specific traits or opinions of the speakers, and their responses are then associated with certain languages or dialects and attitudes towards issues like language policy. The direct method is effective in revealing dominant language ideologies of the community and overt attitudes towards a range of linguistic subjects. This approach has been used on its own in studies of Arabic university students by Al-Haq (2000) and in the study of French and English speakers in Canada (Landry and Bourhis 1997).

The direct method is sometimes unsuccessful in reflecting the speaker's true feelings associated with the language, which are more effectively explored through indirect methods such as the matched guise study. There is a significant amount of research that shows discrepancies between overt attitudes examined through direct methods and covert attitudes uncovered through indirect methods (Bentahila, 1983). However, this study is primarily focused on overt attitudes towards Tamazight and whether or not they have shifted since 2011. Therefore, a direct questionnaire was used as the primary instrument to address the research questions outlined in the study.

### **3.3.2 Questionnaire**

A questionnaire in English was given to participants electronically. (See Appendix A.) The questionnaire consisted of approximately 35 questions and was comprised of several distinct categories including but not limited to: demographic information, knowledge of other languages, attitudes toward different languages, evaluation of own-group language status, assessments of the Tamazight language issue generally, Moroccan language policy, and questions regarding the linguistic landscape of the country. The questionnaire was partially developed by myself and partially borrowed from questionnaires used in Chakrani (2010) and Errihani (2008). The final instrument or the Overt Attitude Questionnaire included statements evaluated on a five-point Likert scale. (See Appendix A.)

### **3.3.4 Focus Group Interviews**

The interviews were conducted in a classroom at the American Language Center (ALC) in Rabat in January 2018. All of the interviews were recorded using a voice recorder. Interviews were conducted in English and were semi-structured allowing questions to focus-in on one topic or move to other topics with relative ease. (See Appendix D.) This allowed opportunities to persuade individuals to give answers in more elaborate detail and a provide a more focused response. Interview questions were closely related to survey questions and the important themes related to the study.

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

#### **3.4.1 Questionnaire**

Quantitative data obtained from the questionnaire was used for descriptive statistics and some inferential statistics. Mean scores based on a Likert scale were assessed to reveal overt attitudes. Data obtained from the questionnaire was compared to data collected in previous studies on language attitudes in Morocco in order to locate or identify if certain shifts in attitudes or ideology had taken place. The studies included: Chakrani's 2010 dissertation; and his 2011 and 2013 articles on attitudes in Morocco; Errihani's 2008 article on attitudes regarding Berber language policy, and Marley's 2003 study on the same subject. The Mann Whitney test was used to determine potential differences in age and sex and the Kruskal Wallis test was used to determine differences based on ethnic self-identification. Nonparametric tests were used due to the uneven distributions present in the data.

#### **3.4.2 Interviews**

Qualitative data from the focus group interviews was analyzed for certain themes or patterns also found in results from the questionnaire. These themes included positive attitudes toward language policy changes, the Tamazight language and Amazigh culture and developments regarding the linguistic landscape. An experienced researcher was enlisted to help validate preliminary themes and initial findings from both the quantitative and qualitative data. The researcher was an experienced Moroccan American scholar and linguist who has written several articles on Language Attitudes and Language Policy in Morocco.



After analyzing and discussing the results of the study with the researcher several suggestions and recommendations were made. The researcher stressed the importance of highlighting the socioeconomic status of the participants as a possible explanation for the positive attitudes reported in the study. In addition, the experienced researcher confirmed themes or codes and provided valuable contextual support related to the results of the study and the unique linguistic situation in Morocco. Insights gleaned from the discussion with the researcher along with the interview data helped add context and provide a deeper understanding of the results presented in the questionnaire.

## Chapter 4 Results

### 4.1 Description of Participants

The study involved 142 participants, 58 of whom were male and 84 of whom were female. (See Table 1, below.) Thanks to various social media platforms the researcher was not only able to meet the original target of 100 but surpass it by an additional 42 participants. Although gender was not a focus of this study the variable was still investigated. After conducting the analysis, gender was not found to be a significant factor in responses and both male and female responses were relatively similar. Please see Table 9 in the Appendix for further reference.

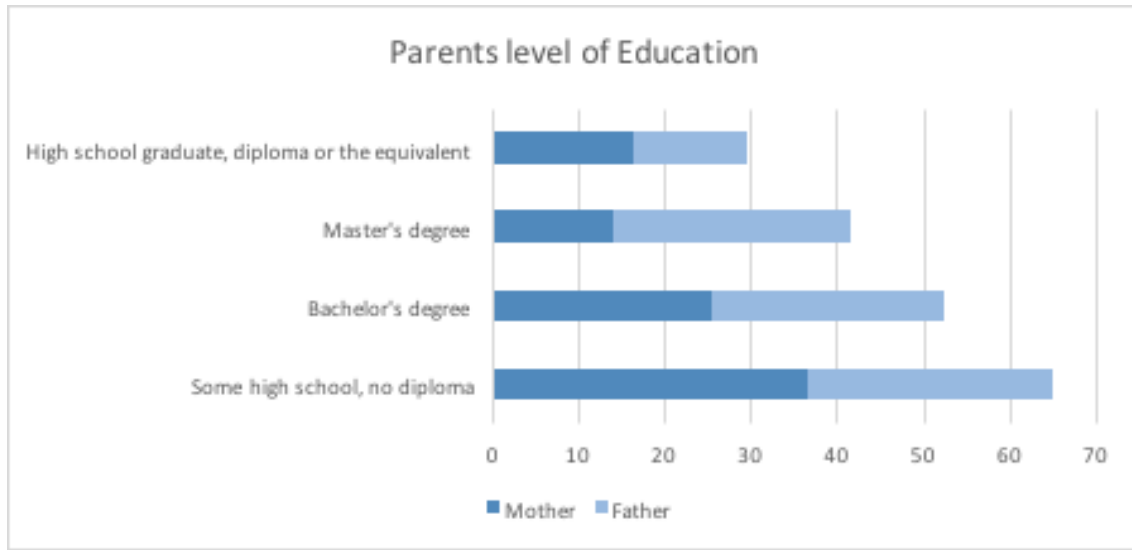
Table 1  
*Gender Characteristics of Sample*

Gender	Number (N = 142)	Percent
Male	58	40.8%
Female	84	59.2%

Participants were divided into two separate age groups: group number 1 consisted of participants between the ages of 18 – 24 and group number 2 consisted of participants between the ages of 24 – 30. (See Table 2, below.)

Table 2  
*Age Characteristics of Sample*

Age	Number (N = 142)	Percent
1	63	44.4%
2	79	55.6%



*Figure 2. Parents' Level of Education*

In order to determine class status, participants were asked about their parents' level of completed education (See Figure 2, above). The results show a diverse mix of different education levels of the parents' present in the study. Education is not always a reliable indicator of class; however, it is one way of identifying the different levels present in a society. Figure 2 shows that the educational background of the participants' parents is mixed; however, in the context of Morocco, large portions of this sample could reasonably be considered middle to upper class due to the high percentage of parents with a bachelor's or master's degree. For instance, over 40%

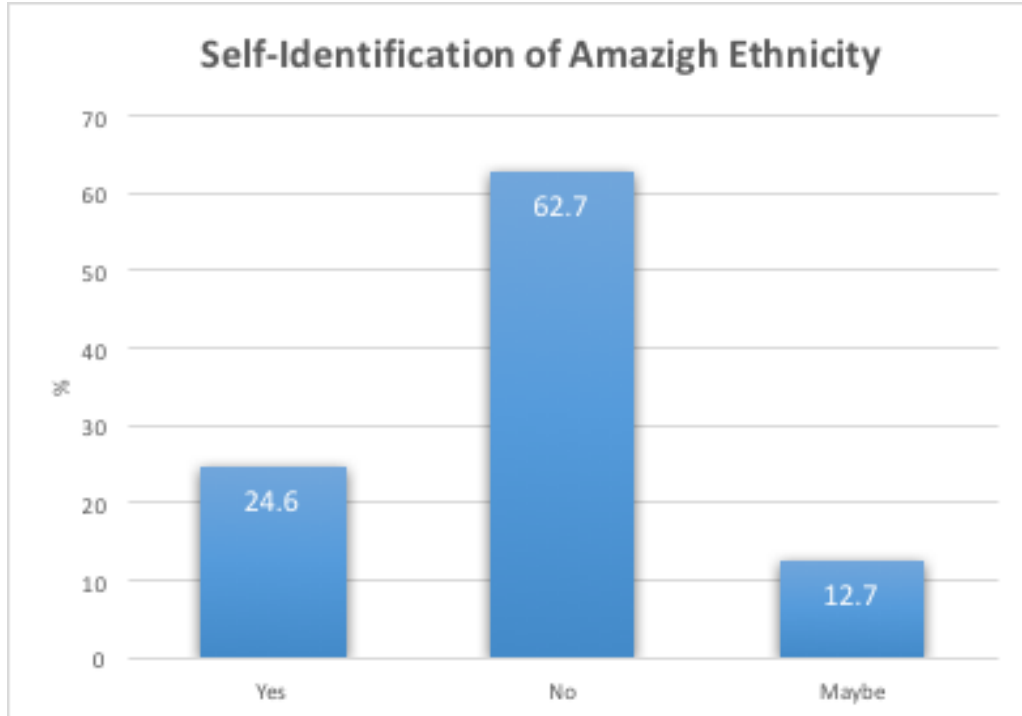
had at least one parent with an advanced degree and over 50% had at least one parent with a bachelor's degree.

All participants were born in one of Morocco's urban cities, which may account for the level of completed education by their parents. In addition, according to the results of the study the majority of respondents reported being able to read, write, speak and understand French, Modern Standard Arabic and English. It is important to note that this sample is not representative of education levels for the general population in Morocco, especially in rural areas of the country.

#### **4.2 Urban Moroccan Youth Discourse Community**

The majority of respondents (62.7%) did not identify as Amazigh, while 12.7% reported their answer as “maybe”, and 24.6% self-identified as being Amazigh. (See Figure 3, below.) This distribution reflects what others have claimed are the demographics of the Moroccan Amazigh community (Ennaji, 2005). However, actual data on the demographics is hard to find since the Moroccan government does not carry out regular censuses nor does it explicitly ask about ethnicity in those censuses.

This self-identification did have a significant impact on the way participants responded to the questionnaire. Not surprisingly, those who self-identified as Amazigh were shown to have more positive attitudes towards Amazigh and tended to agree with pro-Amazigh statements. This aspect will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter and in the following discussion. This feature was expected and follows a well-established pattern identified in the literature. Note Table 11 in the Appendix for further reference.



*Figure 3. Self-Identification of Amazigh Ethnicity*

The overwhelming majority (67.6%) of participants consider themselves Moroccans first and foremost before any other identity markers. The second largest group (16.9%) answered all of the above, whereas 8.5% responded as Amazigh and Moroccan; while only one participant responded as only Amazigh. (See Figure 4, below.) Participants were also asked whether they considered Morocco to be an Arab or Amazigh country. Again, the overwhelming majority responded (78.9%) with the more inclusive answer saying that they considered Morocco to be both an Amazigh and Arab country. (See Figure 5, below.)

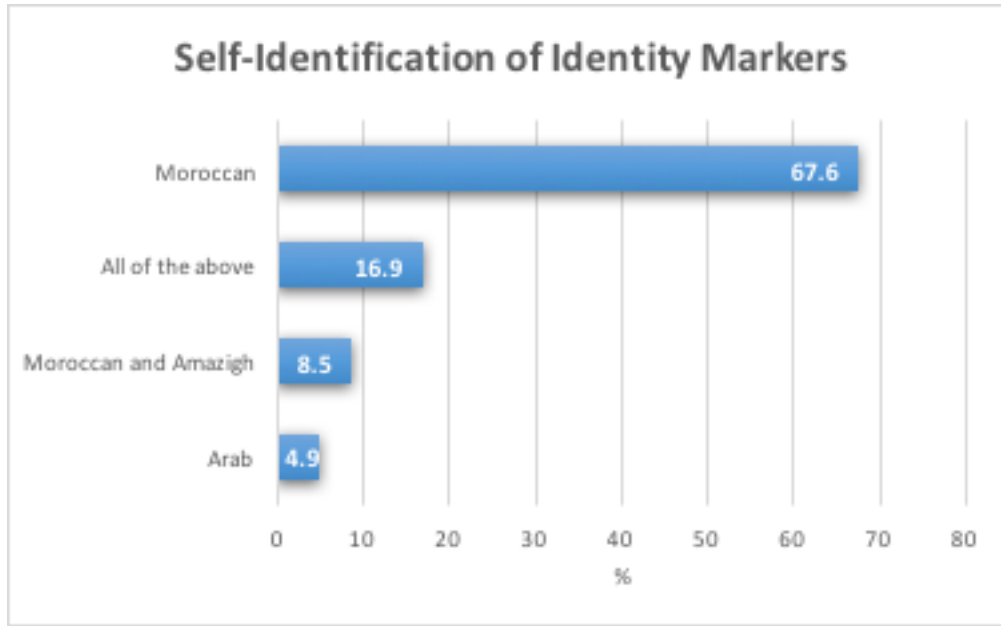


Figure 4. Self-Identification of Identity Markers

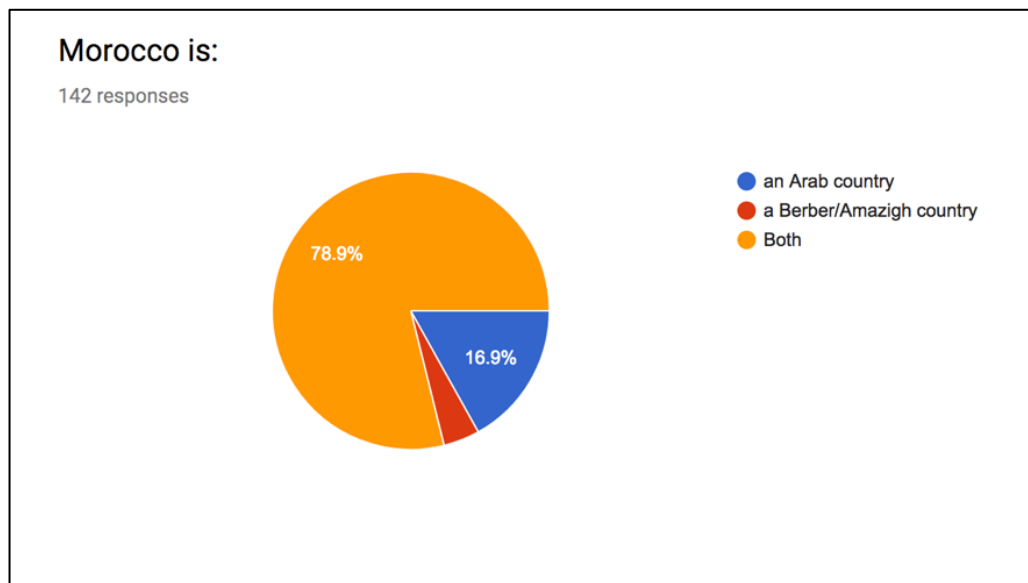


Figure 5. Moroccan National Identity

### 4.3 Language Policy

In 2011, shortly after the Arab Spring, Morocco acknowledged Tamazight as an official state language. The government started offering limited classes in Tamazight at public schools across the country and started a process of adding the Tifinagh script to official government signage and road signs. Attitudes toward these recent changes in language policy were elicited in several survey questions. Participants ranked statements on a five-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5)*. Lower mean scores indicate a higher degree of agreement with the statement and higher mean scores represent a higher degree of disagreement. The standard deviation is related to the spread of the data. A smaller standard deviation indicates a relatively small amount of divergence in responses amongst participants, whereas a larger standard deviation indicates greater divergence in responses.

Table 3  
*Attitudes Toward Recent Changes in Language Policy and Linguistic Landscape*

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
I am happy Tamazight was made an official state language.	2.63	1.19
I think it is a good decision to put Tamazight on government signs.	2.70	1.16
I have noticed Tamazight on road signs and other public buildings.	2.19	1.12

Participants were asked about their attitudes toward the recent changes in language policy and linguistic landscape in the questionnaire. (See Table 3, above.) Regarding the decision to make Tamazight an official state language, there was mild agreement (mean = 2.63) as the majority were content with the decision to make Tamazight an official state language.

The data and views expressed in the interviews reveal that respondents generally agreed with the decision made by the government. However, some questioned the necessity of including Tamazight in the interviews. For example, Hajar argued that English would be a more suitable state language stating:

I don't think so it's a good idea. If they included the English language it would be a good idea because they will not need it for the work. It won't help them. Maybe we can learn it just to have knowledge about it.

Three other students Yamna, Ithri and Nora in the first interview group disagreed with Hajar and came to the defense of the recent policy shift. The other remaining students chose not to express their opinion.

I agree with her, but I think it can cut down on discrimination between citizens in Morocco, that's why we should learn and use this language.

Yea, I do. Yea, I think it's a good thing. I don't think it will help us to communicate in other countries, but in Morocco we should first know our own languages and then learn others.

I think it's a good idea to combine these two languages because we may need uh to speak Amazigh. For example, as my friend said before it cuts down the conflict between the two languages and the people.



The second interview group strongly agreed with the policy and when asked directly if anyone disagreed, there was silence. Yasmina, Youssef and Yazid explained why they agreed with the policy stating:

Yea, because we don't have to forget that the first language in Morocco that they spoke is Amazigh. It is s a truth that we can't deny.

If we deny the Amazigh language. We deny a whole lot of people and we deny a whole culture.

Yea, I am agreeing with it. Yes, because the language pre-Islam in Morocco is Amazigh.

Respondents have clearly noticed a change in the linguistic landscape. (See Table 1, above.) There was general agreement (mean = 2.19) when asked if they had noticed Tamazight/Tifinagh on government signage in the country. This illustrates that participants have noticed a shift in the linguistic landscape in the country and are conscious of changes currently taking place. Yet sentiments regarding the government's decision to put Tamazight on government signs and alter the old landscape ranged from neutral to agree (mean = 2.7). When students in both interview groups were asked whether they had noticed Tamazight in Rabat, they immediately responded that Tamazight was more "visual" now.

[Response to question: Have you noticed Amazigh more around Rabat?]

NORA: Yea, the tram station.

HAJAR: Yes, official paper and on the buildings for government. You have Arabic, French and Amazigh.

YASMINA: They added Amazigh to everything.

Attitudes were mixed when students were asked whether they thought adding the language was a good thing. The first interview group all thought that adding Tamazight was a good thing except for Amina who stated,

To be honest, I am indifferent about it. I don't speak Amazigh and I don't... I can't read what they wrote in the tram station, so I don't care.

Sarah and Yasmina in the second group also expressed neutral attitudes toward the change when asked if they thought adding the additional language to signage was a good thing.

Just for people who are Amazigh

It's not good it's not bad. Its neutral.

In addition, Figure 6 below indicates a neutral to positive response from respondents to the survey. 38.7% believed that the government should do more, while 47.2% were unsure about the government doing more to promote the language, and only 14.1% believed the government should not do more to promote the language in the country. Respondents of the questionnaire were generally unsure about whether or not the government should do more to promote Amazigh language and culture.

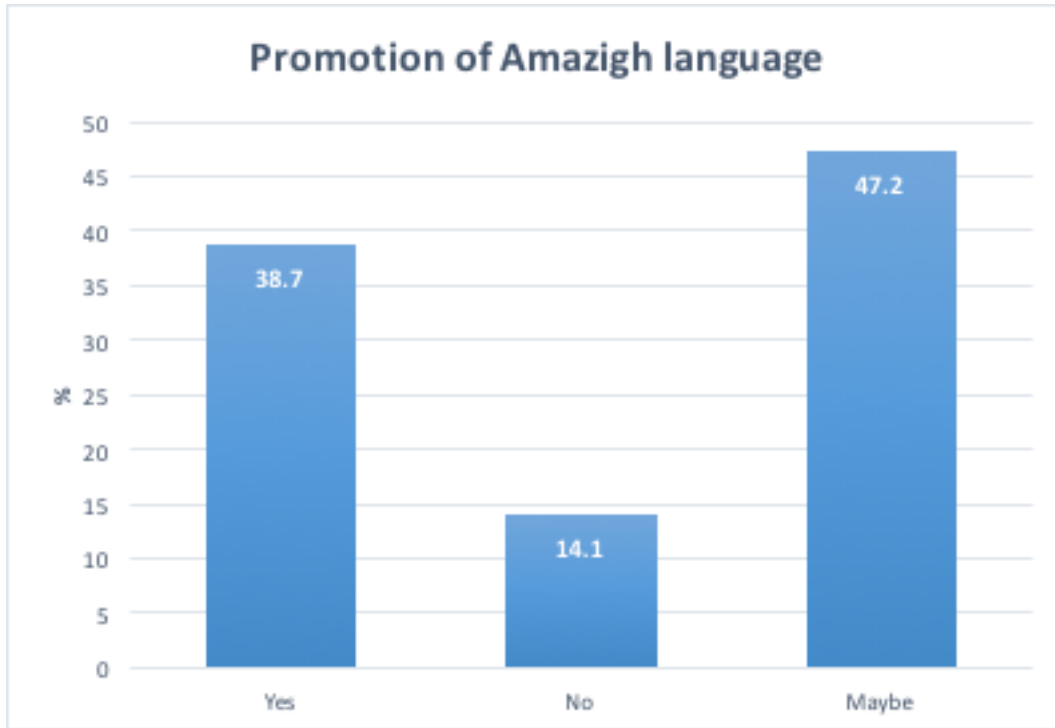


Figure 6. Promotion of Amazigh language

This theme is continued in attitudes expressed in the group interviews. The second group was against the government doing more with the majority of participants saying “No” or “I don’t think so”. The only student that gave a reason for their opinion was Youssef who stated, “I think things right now are good. We don’t need to promote it anymore.” The first interview groups’ responses were more neutral in tone and the majority of them chose to remain silent. Yamna and Ithri expressed their opinions stating,

Tamazight is something that is Moroccan. We are proud that they are here. I mean it’s gonna be better if they make it better. But only for who want to.

I think they should apply the plans they have. They are not applying it. They should just apply what they have in their mind. Like as we said, this language must be an option in schools. And there should be maybe some language centers something like that.

#### 4.4 Linguistic Landscape

Below are some examples that demonstrate the shifts in linguistic landscape that are presently taking place in the country. Figure 8 on the right, represents an older parking sign in Rabat that only has Arabic and French displayed. In the past, all government signs only displayed these two languages, with some signs that have yet to be replaced still only displaying Arabic and French. Figure 7, on the left is an example of the new government signage that includes Tifinagh script and the Tamazight language.

The order of the languages in Figure 7 is important to note. The photo clearly shows Arabic on top, then Tifinagh directly below, and French on the very bottom. This order presumably represents the order of importance of the different languages according to the Moroccan government with the first official language located on top followed by the second official language and finally French which has no official status but is widely used in the country. This order of importance is in direct contrast with commercial signage in the country that is not mandated or created by the government.



Figure 7. Photo Government Building Rabat. Arabic, Tifinagh and French



Figure 8. Photo Parking Sign Rabat. Arabic and French only

Figures 9 and 10, below, are two examples of commercial print that include the different languages represented in Morocco. Figure 9 is a photo of a sim card by the French telecommunications company Orange. Several things are worthy of mention in this photo. First, Arabic is in the center and is written in larger text than the rest of the languages, which is followed by French. These represent the two most important languages commercially in the country. Orange is also a French telecommunications company, which may be another reason why French is prominently displayed. Another point worthy of mention is the fact that Tamazight is included in the print advertisement. Businesses are not required to include Tamazight in any of their print materials, and thus this presence is a salient example of the increasing prevalence of Tamazight and the Tifinagh script in Morocco.

Figure 10 is also an indication of the shifts in the linguistic landscape of the country. The placard on the right is an advertisement for a bank. The placard clearly shows English on top followed by Arabic and then Tamazight. French is missing from the placard. These two photos contrast with the two photos in Figures 7 and 8, above, created by the government. They illustrate the differences in opinion between the government and commercial interests in the country related to the importance of the various languages that make up Morocco's linguistic landscape. The photos indicate that the linguistic landscape in Morocco is changing. The results from the questionnaire and survey prove that people are taking notice. Finally, the marked differences between the commercial and government signs illustrate that there are differences of opinion on the order of importance.



Figure 9. Photo Sim Card. Arabic, French, Spanish, English and Tifinagh



Figure 10. Photo Bank Advertisement French, Arabic and Tifinagh

#### 4.4 Language Attitudes

The most useful language in Morocco according to 71.1% of respondents is Moroccan Arabic, followed by French (21.1%). (See Table 4, below.) Standard Arabic and English were found to be the most useful by a small percentage of respondents, while no one considered Tamazight the most useful language in Morocco.

The most prestigious language in Morocco is currently French according to 47.9% of respondents. (See Table 5, below.) English came in second with 26.1% and Moroccan Arabic came in third with 16.9%. Surprisingly, Standard Arabic (9.2%) received fewer responses than Moroccan Arabic, which is considered a low variety in comparison to Standard Arabic. In addition, no one in the study thought that Tamazight was the most prestigious or useful language in Morocco.

Table 4  
*The Most Useful Language in Morocco*

<b>Language</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>
Moroccan Arabic	101	71.1%
French	30	21.1%
Standard Arabic	8	5.6%
English	3	2.1%

Table 5  
*The Most Prestigious Language in Morocco*

<b>Language</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>
French	68	47.9%
English	37	26.1%
Moroccan Arabic	24	16.9%
Standard Arabic	13	9.2%

There was a vigorous debate among the two different groups when it came to the importance and prestige of the different languages in Morocco. Most students believed that French and English were the most important and useful languages in Morocco, mainly due to their dominance in the domains of school and work. In addition, no one in either group thought that Arabic was the most important language in Morocco. The first group all stated that French

was the most important, except for one student (Hajar), who said English. Another student (Amina) argued for French, stating,

So, first of all French is what we use in university. We study in French. Plus, for example if someone came as a tourist to Morocco and if he doesn't know Arabic or uh any other language like he only wants to. to. to. go in a taxi, he would like if he speaks to him in French he would understand.

HAJAR: For me English is more important than French, because in the past was French but now and, in the future, it will be English. I have a friend that are preparing their PhD now and everything is in English. Nothing in French. Even me now, I learn now a masters in logistique, and all the articles everything I have to read is in English not French.

The second interview group also found difficulty agreeing on the most important language in Morocco. Most students thought that French was the most important language for now, but that English would soon overtake it. There was an interesting exchange concerning this point between Youssef and some of the female members of the second group.

[Exchange about most important language in Morocco: Second group]

INVESTIGATOR: Great, So the first question is. Which language do you think is the most important language in Morocco?

GROUP: French

I think it is English and French

I think for work also it's English

YASMINA: I think English is starting to be to take French's place. We used to have French but now English is on her way.



YOUSSEF: I think it depends on when and where you are using this language. When it comes to professional things French is more important right now, but I think that [English is

YASMINA: No, I disagree.]

If you are talking about some professional things like societies it is English. Because they are working in documents that are in English.

YOUSSEF: No, I am talking about companies right now. You have to have French.

YASMINA: No, you need English.

YOUSSEF: If you do an internship in a company, you speak in French. I think it is taking place over French. You need English for the future.

#### **4.4.1 Language Attitudes in the Context of School**

There was general disagreement about making Tamazight mandatory in school (mean = 3.68), with 34.5% strongly disagreeing with the prospect. (See Table 6, below.) This was also revealed in the group interviews, where no respondents agreed or promoted the idea of mandatory Tamazight language courses. Youssef, who himself claims to be part Berber, was against the idea of teaching Tamazight in schools, stating, “I don’t have a problem with people who speak Amazigh, but I don’t think it should be taught in school. I don’t think it’s important for our kids to learn it”.

Table 6  
*Status Traits of Single Varieties*

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
All Moroccans should learn Tamazight/Berber in school.	3.68	1.27
Berber should be taught only to those who would like to learn it	1.91	1.20

The first group were unanimously against the obligatory component; however, they were also unanimously for making it optional for students in public schools. Participants agreed that Berber or Tamazight should only be taught to those who would like to learn it. Hajar expressed the feelings of the group stating,

I think we should learn other subjects more because they are more important like Sciences. That's why it should be optional. Amazigh, we will only use it in Morocco and only with Amazigh people. It should only be optional.

Respondents were asked which languages they thought should be taught in school and their answers are represented in Table 7, below. There was almost universal agreement regarding English (97.9%). Arabic, French and Spanish followed, while surprisingly Tamazight came in fourth with 43 respondents (30.3%) agreeing that Tamazight should be taught in school.

Table 7  
*Languages Moroccans Should Learn in School*

<b>Language</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>
English	139	97.9%
Standard Arabic	122	85.9%
French	118	83.1%
Spanish	86	60.6%
Tamazight	43	30.3%
Moroccan Arabic	20	14.1%

This theme of promoting English over French in school continued in the interview data as well. The first interview group believed that French was isolating Morocco and that English needed to be given more priority in school.

[Discussion on importance of teaching English early on in school]

AMINA: I studied most of my life in private school but two years I was in public school. and uh they didn't even teach. They didn't give us two hours for English and when I went to my other school I had difficulties catching up to the other students and even French.

YAMNA: French is only important here. If we want to have a work or something here. It's only for countries who speak French. We need English.

NORA: If we change everything than the whole system should change to English. Everything. The whole society should change.

When the second group was asked what languages should be taught from primary school, multiple students said Arabic, French and English. However, there was some disagreement in regard to Arabic. Yasmina, Youssef and Sarah had a brief exchange on the topic, shown below:

INVESTIGATOR: What languages should they teach in primary school for like kids or children?

GROUP: Arabic, French and English.

YASMINA: Not even Arabic. Less than French

YOUSSEF: We should not forget our heritage

YASMINA: They can just know the basics because after we basically don't use Arabic anymore in our schools

SARAH: Even now we speak better in French and English than Arabic. We learn Arabic since primary school, but we don't use it.

#### **4.4.2 Attitudes Towards Amazigh**

Participants were asked in the questionnaire about the usefulness of the Tamazight language. (See Table 8, below.) Generally speaking, participants were neutral in their responses (mean = 3.25) with the largest response on the questionnaire being neutral (34.5%). A slightly more positive response (mean = 2.41) was recorded for the second statement regarding the usefulness of speaking Tamazight and Arabic. In fact, 41% of respondents either strongly agreed or agreed with the statement, with only 34% disagreeing.

Table 8  
*Attitudes toward Tamazight*

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
Tamazight/Berber is a useful language in Morocco.	3.25	0.82
It is useful to be able to speak both Arabic and Tamazight in Morocco.	2.41	0.87
I would like to learn Tamazight/Berber.	3.20	0.70

When the first interview group was asked whether or not Tamazight was an important language, Ithri, who identifies as Amazigh and speaks Tamazight at home, spoke up and said:

Is it an important language? Well, I think it is because I am Amazigh and um and when I go to there are some cities where the citizens only speak Amazigh and if you go there the people even if they know Arabic they won't reply to you if you speak to them in Arabic. So, I think it's different from one city to another.

Everyone else in the group chose to remain silent. When I asked Yamna the question directly she gave a neutral to negative response saying, "I don't think so because it's only if you met in those places."

The second group displayed a similar exchange when presented with the same question. The exchange between Mehdi and Sarah was particularly interesting:

[Exchange between Mehdi and Sarah]

MEHDI: I think every language is important. We must learn French Arabic and also, we must learn Amazigh because it is a part of your culture. It's not necessary but you can learn Amazigh to understand Amazigh people.

SARAH: But you're only going to speak with Amazigh people. Not like English you're going to use it with a large number of people. But if you had the choice you are going to choose English.

MEHDI: I choose both. No one is forcing me to choose between them. I chose Amazigh to talk with Amazigh people and it's one of my languages and I chose English to speak with foreigners.

When asked whether they would like to learn Tamazight/Berber, responses were also primarily neutral (mean = 3.2). Although if you look at the response breakdown, each response received almost the same number of responses, while the number one response was actually 'strongly agree' (21.8%). (See Figure 11, below.) If participants agreed with the statement, they were asked to explain why they had chosen to agree or strongly agree in the questionnaire.

Some of them wanted to learn Amazigh because of their heritage and wanted to connect with their Berber origins:

I myself am Amazigh but can't speak nor understand the language. So, learning it would be delightful. It also helps negotiate with marketers.

I would like to improve my Tamazight skills because it is my origin  
Because I'm from a Tamazight heritage and I'd like to learn more about the culture, including the language. I also like how it sounds.

As an Amazigh speaker, I should learn more about my culture and heritage. We learn Arabic in school for years. Arabic speakers should learn Tamazight, because

Amazigh people are learning Arabic. Moreover, Tamazight is for all Moroccans and not only from Tamazight speakers...

Some wanted to connect with the Tamazight community in Morocco for business or in order to better understand the community:

Because it's useful when traveling. Sometimes people can only speak Tamazight and we have to communicate with them.

Communicate with Amazigh people because they represent important part in Moroccan population

In my view, it is useful to learn Tamazight as long as we live with a vast population of people whose native language is Tamazight. Therefore, as a sign of recognition and overture towards the culture of these people (Berber), I should try to learn at least the rudiments of Tamazight. In fact, learning this language will facilitate both cultural understanding and interpersonal- based business too. Certainly, Berber Businessmen shall feel more delighted if they find an Arab with full mastery of Tamazight.

Others celebrated diversity and the cultural importance of the Tamazight language:

I like to learn dialect and languages and I have friends who speak it. It would be good to speak their language/dialect and recognize their beautiful culture closely

it's a part of my culture, even I am not a Berber I would like to keep this heritage up

because Morocco is an Amazigh Land, and I'm proud of the history of Amazigh. In Morocco there is no difference between Berber or Arab we are all Moroccan this our identity (Muslim, Jewish, Christian, Berber, Arabic, African and European) this our true wealth.

Because the language plays a very important role in preserving a culture. And as a Moroccan, I think it is my responsibility to preserve the Berber culture which our ancestors gave us as a legacy.

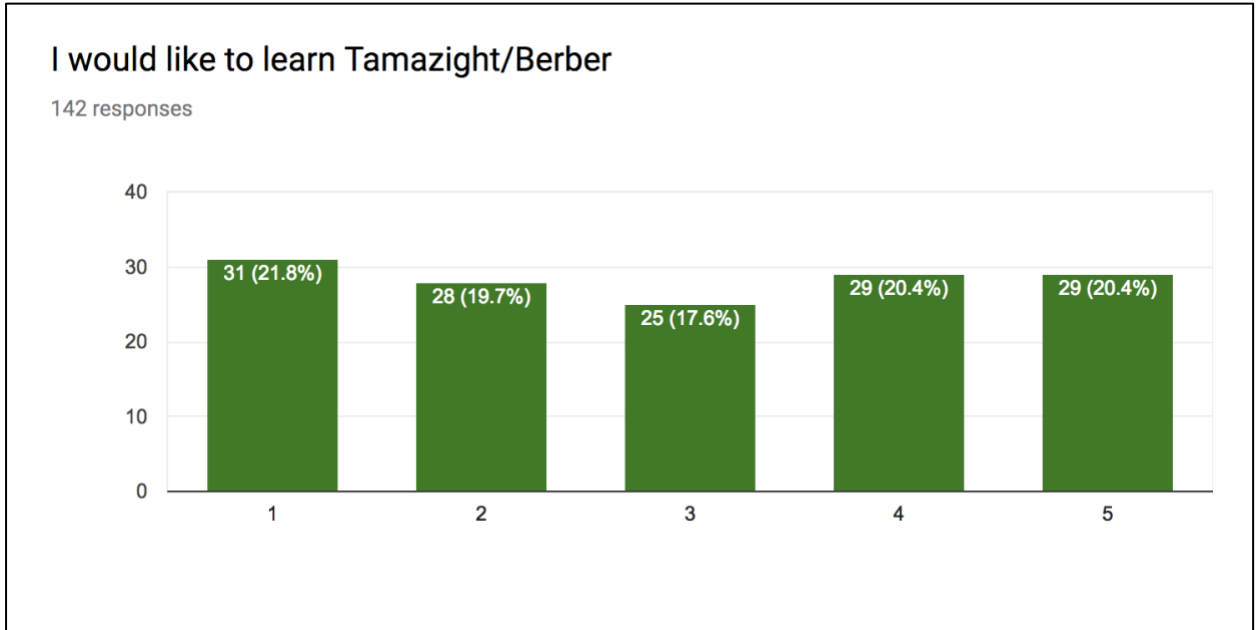


Figure 11. Interest in Learning Tamazight *strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5)*

Table 9.

*Importance of Tamazight Culture and Language*

Statement	Mean	Standard Deviation
The Tamazight language should be preserved and protected.	2.01	1.17
Maintaining the Tamazight culture is important.	1.81	1.02
Maintaining the Tamazight language is important.	2.11	1.10



Participants' opinions moved from neutral to agreement when statements about preservation and maintenance were presented. (See Table 9, above.) A majority of participants (72%) agreed or strongly agreed with the importance of maintaining the Tamazight culture (mean = 1.81) and language (mean = 2.01). Students interviewed at the ALC echoed the same sentiments found in the questionnaire. Despite respondents viewing the language as somewhat useless, they nevertheless believed that it should be preserved and protected.

[Discussion on cultural importance of Tamazight]

HAJAR: I think even if we don't use it Yea we have to preserve it because it is a part of our history.

NORA: I think only in the cities where they speak it. I mean here it is useless

YAMNA: Yea, I think we should preserve because it is one of our languages.

INVESTIGATOR: Do you think that the Amazigh language is an important part of Moroccan history and culture? Are you proud of this part?

GROUP:     Yes, of course  
              Yes  
              Yes

In the survey, participants were asked to choose certain words they felt were closely associated with Tamazight or Berber. (See Table 10, below.) The number one adjective that 102 participants attributed to the word Tamazight was 'Diversity' (71.8%). 'Countryside' was the second most chosen word with 50 respondents (35.2%). 'Backwardness' and 'Poverty' were also words that were associated with the terms Berber and Tamazight; however, they only represented a small percentage (8.5%) and (7%), respectively.

Table 10.  
*Tamazight/Berber Word Associations*

Language	Number	Percent
Diversity	102	71.8%
Countryside	50	35.2%
Freedom	39	27.5%
Backwardness	12	8.5%
Poverty	10	7%

Respondents to the survey were asked directly what their attitudes were toward the Tamazight/Berber language. (See Figure 12, below.) Over half (52.1%) of respondents reported positive attitudes towards Tamazight/Berber, with 28.2% choosing neutral and only 19% reporting indifference. Surprisingly, only one respondent out of 142 reported negative attitudes toward Tamazight and Berber.

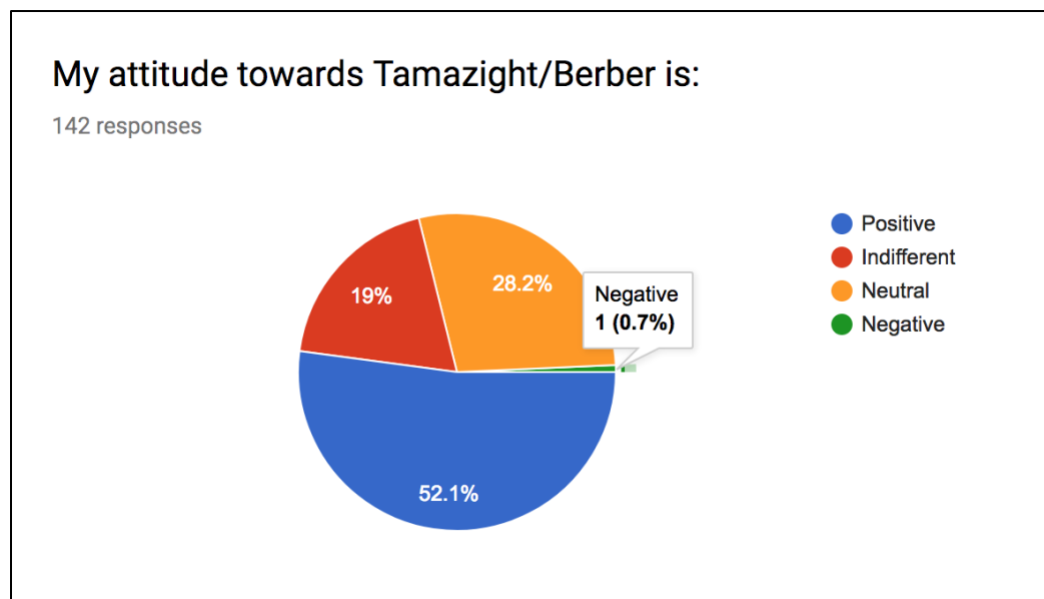


Figure 12. Attitudes Toward Tamazight/Berber

Participants appeared to have mixed feelings regarding the future importance of the Tamazight language in Morocco. (See Figure 13, below.) Nearly half (45.8%) did not think Tamazight would eventually become an important language, while 34.5% were unsure about its prospects, and 19.7% believed that it would eventually become an important language. Participants also expressed this feeling in the group interviews. (See the discussion of both groups below.)

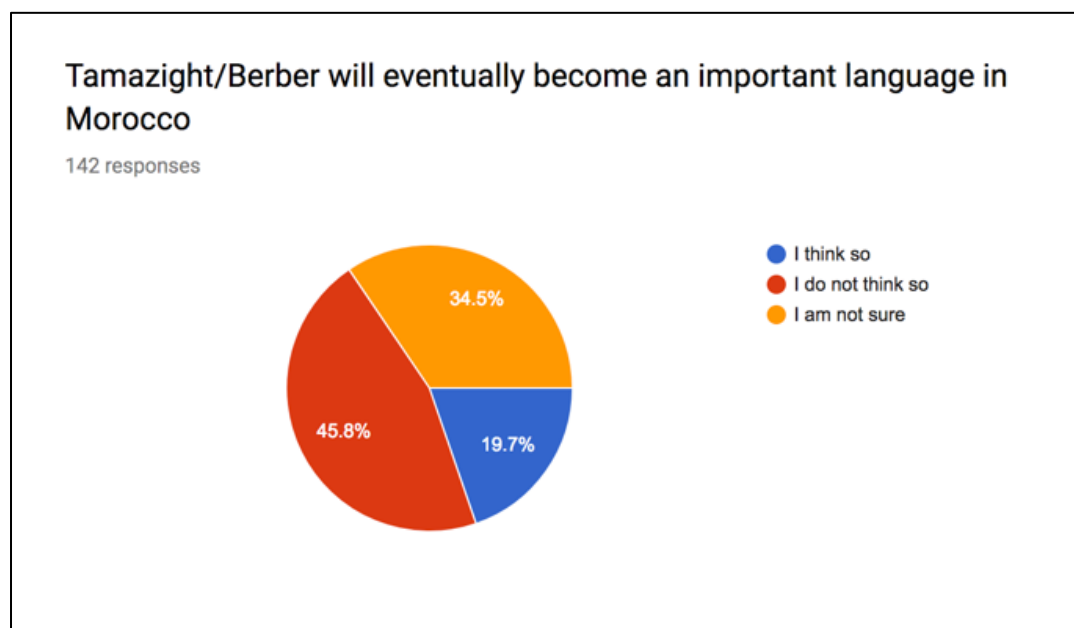


Figure 13. Future Importance of Tamazight in Morocco

[Discussion on the future importance of Tamazight in Morocco]

INVESTIGATOR: Do you think that Tamazight or Amazigh will eventually become an important language in Morocco?

YAMNA: Yes, because they decided to. They chose to make their own new year and they are celebrating their own new year. In Morocco and in Algeria and both the countries decided to celebrate the new year for Amazigh.

ITHRI: Maybe, I don't know. Not everyone can speak Amazigh. Just few people from few cities and not everyone is interested to learn it. People think it's not really an interesting language, so I don't know if it will have a future in Morocco.

AMINA: Let's be real for a second. No offense to anyone here who is Amazigh. I think we should in Morocco they shouldn't teach Amazigh it should just be something that we learn at home with a grandmother or with our mothers. Because we're not going to speak Amazigh outside of morocco and it's not going to give us an advantage like other languages that are useful outside of morocco. We're not going to learn anything in Amazigh. Why should we waste our time

HAJAR: Also, it's gonna be hard because there are more than 10 languages(dialects) I mean there is Rifi, Soussi...How can they make it all in one language?

[Group 2]

INVESTIGATOR: Do you think it will eventually become an important language in the future?

GROUP: I don't think so  
It's difficult

YASMINA: It depends what they gonna do now. If they promote the language. If they start to teach it in school, then maybe it will become important.

SARAH: I don't think so because even Amazigh people they are speaking Arabic.

INVESTIGATOR: Do you think the Amazigh language will die in Morocco?

GROUP:NO

MEHDI: There are a lot of people speaking Amazigh.

YOUSSEF: And they are teaching their kids.

YASMINA: And they are really attached to their culture and language. It is their identity.

## 4.5 Language Use and Maintenance

Participants were asked about their ability to understand, speak, read and write Tamazight. The majority of respondents (71.8%) claimed that they had zero abilities in regard to the language. (See Figure, 14.) A quarter (25.4) of respondents assert that they can understand the language and only 9.9% stated that they could speak Tamazight. Interestingly, only 3 respondents (2.1%) stated that they could read or write Tamazight. This is quite a small number, and there is an additional possibility that the students who reported being able to read and write might not be able to according to the experienced researcher consulted for this study. The small number can also be attributed to two other factors as well. First, the Amazigh population in Morocco also has the highest rates of illiteracy and second the Tamazight language was solely an oral language until the standardization of the Tifinagh script in 2003.

Participants were asked to check the different languages they used in four separate domains: home, school, friends, and work. (See Figure 15.) Moroccan Arabic was the most widely used language across the four different contexts. French and English were the next most frequently used languages and participants reported high usage when at work and at school. Standard Arabic was mainly used at school and at work but was rarely used at home or with friends. Amazigh was almost never used in school or at work but was slightly more frequent at home and with friends in comparison to Standard Arabic.

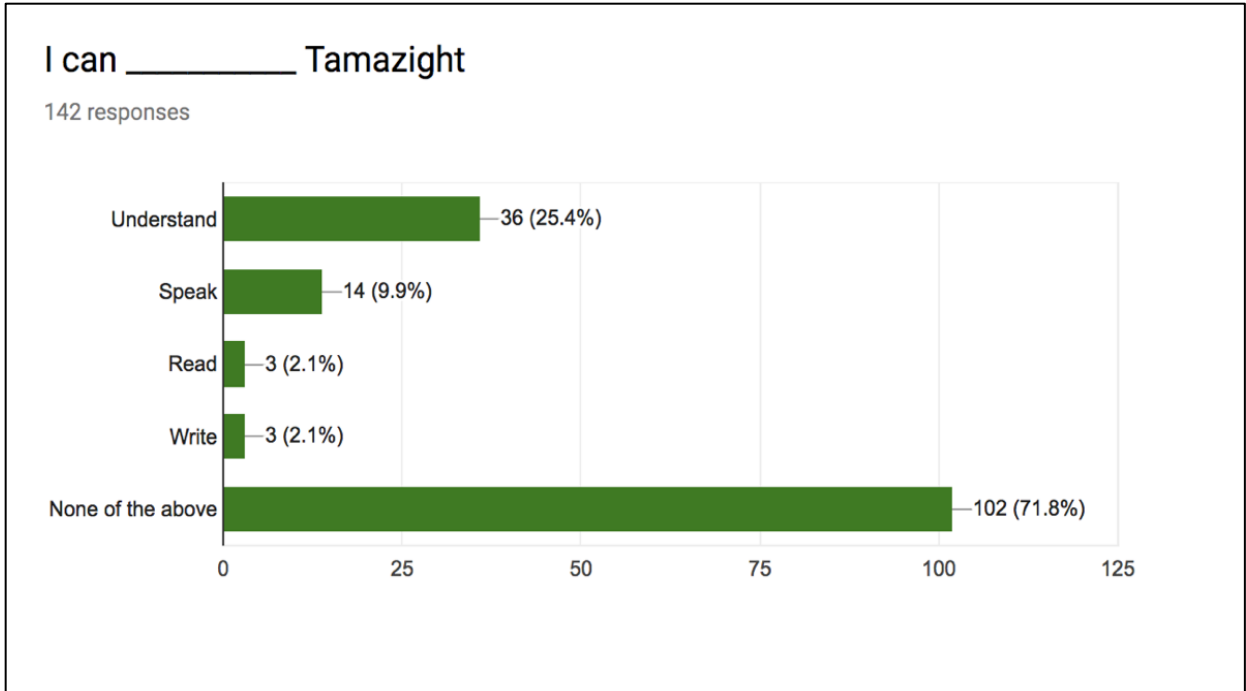


Figure 14. Participant Ability in Tamazight

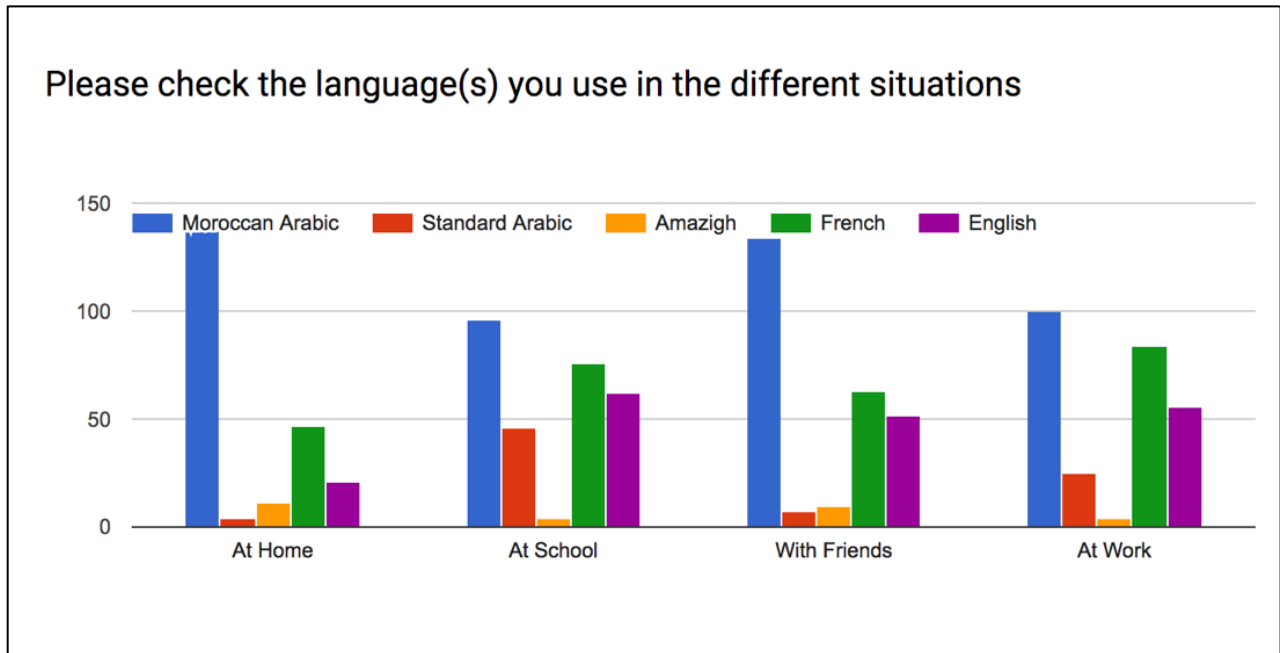


Figure 15. Language Use in Four Domains

The interview data from the two groups resembled the data gathered from the questionnaire. One aspect that the questionnaire did not focus on was code-switching, which was discussed in during the interviews. The first group of students were open to the idea of using this blend of Moroccan Arabic, French and English in the classroom; however, the second group was strongly against such an idea. Their attitudes on the matter are shown below as well as some of their responses regarding language use in different situations.

[Group One Discussion on Language Use]

INVESTIGATOR: What languages do you speak at home?

AMINA: Moroccan Arabic. With my cousins or people who are younger sometimes English or French.

ITHRI: For me it's Arabic and Amazigh.

YAMNA: Arabic and English with my sisters.

HAJAR: Arabic

INVESTIGATOR: Moroccan Arabic, right?

GROUP: YES

INVESTIGATOR: What about with your friends?

French Arabic and English

GROUP: French Arabic and English

French Arabic and English

INVESTIGATOR: Do you ever get confused?

GROUP: NO

YAMNA: Sometimes you forget the word in Arabic and you say it in French or English.

INVESTIGATOR: Do you think that teachers should teach you in all of those languages...like a mix

YEA

YEA

YEA, WHY NOT

OK. I think that's all the time we have. Thank you.

[Group 2 Discussion on language use]

INVESTIGATOR: What languages do you speak at home?

GROUP: DARIJA

INVESTIGATOR: What about with your siblings or people younger?

YASMINA: Sometimes Darija sometimes French or English. You know sometimes just to practice the language, so we don't forget it.

YOUSSEF: You know when we are speaking in general we are mixing Darija with you know French and English

INVESTIGATOR: So, Darija is like mix of these languages.

GROUP: YEA

INVESTIGATOR: Should they teach this mix in school?

NO

No, it's not good



INVESTIGATOR: What languages do you speak in school?

French

French

French and English

English

YOUSSEF: Some classes in Arabic

INVESTIGATOR: Like?

YOUSSEF: Like Economics. Some classes in Economics because they think we can do business with like countries from the Gulf.

INVESTIGATOR: Ok, I think that's it. Thank you.

It appears that that the Moroccan youth interviewed for this study use different languages depending on the context and the interlocutors. Darija is the most frequent code used but it is often used in conjunction with French or English, which would indicate a frequent usage of code-switching within the discourse community. Standard Arabic is used for only a few classes at the university level and the interview data suggests it loses importance and prestige after high school. Finally, the interviews suggest that a change in code or language occurs when speaking to different generations. French and English are popular codes when speaking to younger generations as is Moroccan Arabic. Standard Arabic is rarely spoken except for specific classes.

## Chapter 5 Discussion

### 5.1 Introduction

This study investigated attitudes toward the recent transformations in linguistic landscape and language policy, as well as attitudes toward the different dominant languages present in Morocco. The use of mixed methods, the focus on attitudes toward the recent language policy, and the incorporation of linguistic landscape changes distinguishes this study from previous research conducted in North Africa. Few studies have been done on attitudes in Morocco post-Arab Spring (2011-2018) and none have investigated the link between landscape and attitudes, which makes this particular study unique.

In addition, few studies have specifically focused on attitudes toward Tamazight/Berber. Previous research on attitudes in Morocco has mostly investigated attitudes toward French, English, Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic or code-switching. Although this study did ask questions on the general attitudes towards the multiple languages present in Morocco, its primary concern was attitudes towards Tamazight and the recent developments taking place in the country. This chapter will detail the attitudes of the urban Moroccan youth discourse community toward the recent changes in LP and LL. In addition, it will reference and link findings from previous literature and highlight areas for future research.

The language attitudes reported in this study substantiate previous long-held assumptions regarding attitudes in Morocco. French is still the most prestigious language and Tamazight is still for the most part considered a useless code. However, recent changes starting in 2011 seem to have shifted and one thing is for certain: the youth in Morocco are aware of the current transformations currently taking place in their cities and country.

## 5.2 Urban Moroccan Youth Discourse Community

The urban Moroccan youth community is an interesting and important discourse community to research. The urban population is around 57% according to UNICEF and is growing exponentially every year as more and more citizens seek opportunity in one of the major cities. The CIA website states that the youth population in Morocco aged (15-29) represents approximately 26% of the country. Moreover, the youth in any society tend to be harbingers of future trends and ideologies within the larger discourse community.

Participants were divided into these two separate age groups to discern if the younger generation, those aged 18-24, would report more positive responses. Evidence of this was not found in the data and age was not found to be a significant factor in responses. Note Table 10 in the Appendix for further reference. It appears that these two age groups shared similar attitudes and perceptions. In order to truly determine if a generational shift in attitudes has taken place a much larger sample is required.

The participants in this study were between the ages of 18-30 and all grew up in Rabat or the other major urban centers in the country such as Casablanca, Fes, Meknes, Tangier or Marrakech. Therefore, they are representative of this important segment of the linguistic community and their attitudes are certainly worthy of inquiry. The high level of completed education in regard to their parents and the fact that participants were all proficient in English suggests that the sample most likely consists of participants from a relatively high socio-economic background. Illiteracy rates are high in the rural population in Morocco as are lower levels of completed education. The attitudes expressed in this study are reflective of a particular segment of society and are not representative of all youth in Morocco.

Participants in the study clearly identified with the term “Moroccan” over all other identity markers in the questionnaire, which was not surprising. Discussions or debates on identity are taboo in Morocco and identifying as anything other than Moroccan or Muslim is generally frowned upon. This point of view was highlighted when Amina spoke in detail about how she identifies as Moroccan and nothing else. Her emphatic and somewhat indignant response regarding identity was most likely a reaction to Ithri declaring herself Amazigh and to the question itself.

The second highest response for the question “I consider myself\_\_”, after Moroccan was “all of the above”. 5.7 % identified as Arab only and around 17 % chose “all of the above”. In reality, few Moroccans truly know their ethnic background, and that is mainly due to the fact that the indigenous Amazigh populations have been intermarrying with the various Arab populations since the two made contact in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century. In the past, Moroccan tended to emphasize their Arab identity and failed to admit that they might have some Amazigh ancestry somewhere in their family line. However, this reality may be something that the younger generation is coming to embrace, or at least is coming to terms with. Several students in the interviews mentioned this point and stated more than once that they believed that all Moroccans have some Amazigh blood somewhere if they went back far enough in their family tree. It is true that even my mother, who is Moroccan, does not know if she has Amazigh ancestry or even Jewish ancestry.

In addition, when asked about the national identity of Morocco, the majority (78.9%) stated that Morocco was both an Arab and Berber country, and only 16.9% stated that Morocco was an Arab country. The dreams of a Pan-Arab identity are decreasing year by year and the

impacts of this failed dream might be altering national identities in Morocco. It is apparent to most Moroccan that the current direction of Morocco and the king is Pan-Africanism and not Pan-Arabism. In Errihani's 2008 study he surveyed three separate groups of Moroccan students and asked the same question regarding national identity. Respondents to the 2008 study reported higher percentages (37%), (28%) and (28%) of respondents who stated that they believed Morocco to be an Arab only country. Respondents in this study repeatedly chose the more inclusive response when given the option. This tendency to accept differences might be explained by certain ideological shifts taking place and regional politics. The sectarian violence raging across the MENA area has had devastating consequences for those countries willing to engage in divisive rhetoric and ideology. The urban youth in Morocco do not want their country to fall to the dangers of sectarianism. Furthermore, the Moroccan establishment and monarchy is actively promoting acceptance and diversity. This is illustrated in the inclusive language used in the newly drafted constitution. Finally, the king is currently seeking a *détente* with the African Union and hopes to frame Morocco as an African nation. Promoting Tamazight, which is an indigenous Afro-Asiatic language, helps him in creating a narrative of Morocco being an ancient African center of culture. Berbers are indigenous to Africa and Arabs are not; therefore, promoting amazigh identity helps promote the African face or dimension of Morocco.

### **5.3 Attitudes Toward Language Policy**

This quantitative study substantiates claims made by Errihani (2008) and Marley (2003), and additionally presents new claims regarding attitudes in Morocco. Attitudes toward the decision to make Tamazight an official state language ranged from agree to neutral (mean 2.63), while only a small percentage (18%) disagreed with the statement. It appears that respondents to

the survey did not necessarily disagree with the change in policy; however, they did express skepticism regarding the governments' intentions and the efficacy of the policy. His Majesty King Mohammed VI amended the constitution on June 17, 2011. The second paragraph of the preamble to this amended constitution now outlines the national identity of Morocco as the following:

Morocco is a sovereign Muslim State, committed to the ideals of openness, moderation, tolerance and dialogue to foster mutual understanding among all civilizations; A Nation whose unity is based on the fully endorsed diversity of its constituents: Arabic, Amazigh, Hassani, Sub-Saharan, African, Andalusian, Jewish and Mediterranean components.<sup>1</sup>

Article 5 of the constitution addresses language policy i.e. official or national languages and protection of language use. The article also addresses the integration of ethnic communities and their right to culture. The article to this amended constitution detailing these official policies is shown below:

#### Article 5

Arabic is [demeure] the official language of the State.

The State works for the protection and for the development of the Arabic language, as well as the promotion of its use.

Likewise, Tamazight [Berber/Amazigh] constitutes an official language of the State, being common patrimony of all Moroccans without exception.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.constituteproject.org/ontology/Morocco?lang=en>

An organic law defines the process of implementation of the official character of this language, as well as the modalities of its integration into teaching and into the priority domains of public life, so that it may be permitted in time to fulfill its function as an official language.

The change in policy has had little impact on day to day life for the majority of Moroccans, thus it is logical that the majority of respondents would agree or remain neutral when asked about the change in policy. In addition, very few substantial changes have been made since the declaration in June 2011. The biggest change has been the addition of Tifinagh to all government signage. The declaration does reveal an openness or at least a desire to promote diversity by the government.

Responses to the question about whether the government should do more to promote Amazigh were intriguing mainly due to their positive nature. For example, only 14.1% said “no”, whereas, 38.7% said “yes” the government should do more to promote Amazigh culture and language. This is somewhat contrary to negative responses recorded in studies by Errihani (2008) and Marley (2003). The divisions amongst the Amazigh and Arab populations that the French attempted to exploit during the period of colonization are a distant memory for the Moroccan youth discourse community. This may be a reason why they are more supportive of Amazigh recognition and promotion by the government.

The interviews were mixed with respondents either against increased promotion or neutral to the idea. However, respondents did mention all of the directives that the government has failed to implement, so perhaps they believe the government should implement its proposed changes before adding additional plans. For instance, making Amazigh available in public schools, which students were in favor of implementing.

#### 5.4 Attitudes Toward Linguistic Landscape

The presence of one's language in public "transmits symbolic messages as to the legitimacy, relevance, priority and standards of languages" (Shohamy, 2006, p.110). This may influence attitudes and how a member of that community feels about their community or language. This crucial element is not lost on Moroccan intellectual and Amazigh rights activist Ahmed Assid, who explains the importance of the Tifinagh script and its contribution to the linguistic landscape of the country stating in a 2003 issue of *The Amazigh Voice*:

We need to keep using the Tifinagh script, because it is a visual representation of the Amazigh identity that you see in institutions, on the street, in public spaces, and so on. If you replace this script with Arabic, we will only see the Arabic script, and that means at first sight our language will look like Arabic, which is something we can't accept.

The results from the questionnaire clearly show that the overwhelming majority of students are aware of the Tifinagh script on government signs and public buildings. The Tifinagh script is unlike any other script and is easily identifiable. In addition, businesses and commercial advertisements are beginning to increasingly use Tifinagh script more and more. These factors may be contributing to the increase in recognition of Tamazight and the Tifinagh script. This represents a possible explanation for the positive shift in attitudes recorded in this study.

One major issue, however, is the lack of individuals who can actually read or write Tifinagh. This fact was brought up more than once during the group interviews. The students generally thought it was a nice gesture to include Tamazight, but also thought it was nothing



more than a gesture or overture to keep the Amazigh population “quiet”. Respondents were mainly neutral about whether or not they thought putting the new language on signage was a good decision. This is most likely due to the same issues discussed above. It is possible that if more Berbers were able to actually read the signs then more people might think putting Tifinagh was important and necessary.

### **5.5 Language Attitudes**

In terms of overt attitudes, French was ranked positively in terms of status and rankings as it was considered as the most prestigious language by the majority of respondents. Participants also believed it was the most important language for school and business in the country. This further supports other studies done on language attitudes in Morocco (Chakrani, 2010; Errihani, 2008; Bentahila, 1983). Morocco still maintains strong ties with France, and French is still the language of the elite, in particular the business community.

Students in both interview groups validated responses found in the questionnaire. French was considered important for school and the workplace. English also ranked positively in terms of status, while several students even suggested that English would eventually overtake French in importance in the country. This shift in attitude toward English might be attributed to another recent change in language policy. In 2015, Lahcen Daoudi, the former minister of education in Morocco made writing a dissertation in English mandatory for all PhD-seeking students. English was a common topic during interviews and was the cause of several lively discussions. It appears that the competition for prestige between French and English is likely to continue in the country.

Moroccan Arabic was the most useful language according to respondents, which is not surprising since it is also the most widely spoken language. Standard Arabic received a very small percentage (9.2%), which was surprising. What was even more surprising was that it received a smaller percentage than Moroccan Arabic (MA) (16.9%). Moroccan Arabic is categorized as the low variety in the country, and although Standard Arabic (SA) is not a prestige code in Morocco (Haeri, 2000), it is unexpected for MA to receive more responses than SA. This may indicate shifts in attitude regarding the colloquial version of Arabic and the worsening status of Standard Arabic in the country. This loss in prestige for CA or SA may be related to the lack of importance put in religion i.e. importance of Islam. Urban Moroccan youth tend to be less religious than previous generations of Moroccans and this may be affecting attitudes toward SA and CA. In addition, Pan Arab identity has been a complete failure and the consequences of this failed movement might be affecting the prestige of Standard Arabic. Tamazight received zero responses which shows it has very little prestige in the country. This is not surprising since Tamazight is not considered a prestige language (Chakrani, 2010), and was the subject of discrimination and suppressive policies by previous governments.

Attitudes toward Tamazight were mostly neutral to agree on the questionnaire and interviews, although when it came to questions of preserving the language and culture, attitudes were markedly more positive. Moroccans are reconnecting with their pre-Islamic past. Several students specifically referenced this connection in the interviews and questionnaire responses. In addition, the fear of colonial divide and rule has subsided, while anxiety about fundamentalism and extremism in the country has grown. Morocco has so far avoided sectarian and extremist violence, which may be due to the presence of more liberal ideas and an openness to diversity. For example, participants chose the word diversity as the number one word they would use to

describe the Amazigh language and community. The word diversity appears in the amended constitution and indicates that the top down change in language policy may be having an effect on the youth community.

The pre-Islamic past of Morocco was commonly associated with ‘Jahiliyya’, an Arabic word meaning ‘a time of ignorance’, which was also commonly associated with Berber/Amazigh rule. This may no longer be the prevailing opinion of pre-Islamic Morocco among the youth population, which is also less religious than previous generations. There appears to be a softening of attitudes towards Tamazight among the Moroccan youth community and the Moroccan public seems to be softening negative attitudes towards other groups as well. One could argue that this softening of attitudes toward Tamazight may be part of a much larger trend of acceptance taking place in the kingdom.

## **5.6 Language Use and Maintenance**

According to the results of the study, Tamazight is almost never used in school or at work. It is only really used at home or with friends, and only a small number of participants reported using it in those domains. This does not bode well for maintenance of the language. Despite changes in language policy, the survival of the language among Moroccan youth in urban areas is questionable. The younger generations in Morocco are highly focused with finding employment and tend to view languages as tools to help them climb the social ladder. In this regard, Tamazight is seen as a useless language that has very little practical applications. However, the cultural connection of Tamazight and the strong identity factor may maintain the language for the foreseeable future. Solidarity amongst Berbers appears to be strong even in urban areas.

Standard Arabic is used less and less with English and Moroccan Arabic reporting higher usage in all four domains, and Tamazight reporting higher usage at home and with friends. Standard Arabic seems to be in retreat among the urban youth community in Morocco. This retreat may be a reason why many in the country oppose or are concerned about the increased profile of Amazigh. Standard Arabic maintains its importance because of the top down government approach to the language and the government's insistence on it being used in education.

The low numbers of respondents who claimed to read and write Tamazight is also worrisome. It is true that Tamazight is a newly formalized language and the Tifinagh script is new and not very widely taught. The majority of the illiterate population tend to come from predominantly Berber rural areas, which is why so many Berber speakers cannot read or write Tamazight. If this trend continues, positive attitudes and government declarations will not be able to save the language from receding in the country.

### **5.7 Implications**

This study provides a recent analysis of language attitudes in Morocco after significant changes in language policy. The relative positive assessment of Tamazight, which traditionally has been seen in a negative light, is an important contribution to the body of sociolinguistic research that has previously been conducted on language attitudes in Morocco. The results of this study reveal that there may be a softening of negative opinions towards Amazigh. Further, the results may indicate a larger trend happening in the country, a trend towards acceptance of

diversity that is happening in the country. The Moroccan youth population may be coming to terms with the diversity that exists in their community and possibly displaying pride in this fact.

The study has revealed that the Moroccan youth community is aware that a shift in policy is happening. They are also aware that the linguistic landscape of the country is currently undergoing a transformation and that these changes may impact the future importance of languages in the country.

Attitudes toward this change and toward Tamazight and the Amazigh community ranged from neutral to positive. The most intriguing aspect of this study is the absence of negative responses. The only statement that produced definitively negative responses was related to Tamazight becoming a mandatory subject in school. This is a marked contrast from past studies. It is still too early to tell if a real shift has taken place, but this study will hopefully encourage other researchers to investigate the validity of this study and hopefully provide more detailed explanations as to why a shift may be taking place.

## **5.8 Limitations**

There were various limitations regarding the sample, data collection, and methodology that need to be outlined and discussed. First, the sample size included in this study was only 142, which is too low a number to be truly representative of the Moroccan youth community. A matched-guise was originally planned for this study; however, time constraints did not allow for this to take place. The ideal study would have analyzed both overt and covert attitudes. Another limitation regarding the sample is related to the location and background of the participants. All of the participants were born and raised in urban areas. Including data from similar age groups

who were born and raised in rural environments would have significantly contributed to the overall validity of the study. However, travelling to the rural areas in Morocco and interviewing participants would have been extremely difficult.

### **5.9 Directions for Further Research**

In order to validate the findings of this study, additional research is needed. This study tried to distinguish a difference in attitudes between participants aged 18-24 and 24-30. After reflecting on the study this was too narrow of a range and did not reveal any significant differences. Further research should look into possible differences in attitudes between a much wider gap in generations. For example, what are the current language attitudes of Moroccans aged 35 and older and are they different from the younger generations surveyed in this study? A much larger sample and more questionnaire items are needed to investigate the results found in this study. Exploring the differences between those who live in urban versus rural environments would also be interesting to investigate.

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**Overt Attitudes Questionnaire**

**Demographic information and background information**

Q1. Age: What is your age?

18 – 24

24 – 30

Q2. Sex: What is your sex?

Male      Female

Q3. Education: What are your parents' level of education?

Mother

Some high school, no diploma

High school graduate, diploma or the equivalent

Some college credit, no degree

Bachelor's degree

Master's degree or higher

Father

Some high school, no diploma

High school graduate, diploma or the equivalent

Some college credit, no degree

Bachelor's degree

Master's degree or higher

Q4. Employment Status: What do your parents do for a living?

Father:

Mother:

---

Questions: knowledge of languages spoken in Morocco, evaluation of language status of the different languages (Language Attitudes).

I identify as Amazigh

Yes            No            Maybe

My mother is Amazigh

Yes            No            Maybe

My father is Amazigh

Yes            No            Maybe

I can \_\_\_\_\_ Modern Standard Arabic.

Speak            Understand            Read            Write

I can \_\_\_\_\_ English

Speak            Understand            Read            Write

I can \_\_\_\_\_ French

Speak            Understand            Read            Write

I can \_\_\_\_\_ Amazigh

Speak            Understand            Read            Write

I consider myself

Arab    Amazigh/Berber    Moroccan    Moroccan and Amazigh    All of the above    Not sure

Please answer the following questions based on a scale from 1 to 5

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

Tamazight/Berber is a useful language

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

It is useful to be able to speak both Arabic and Tamazight in Morocco

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

All Moroccans should learn Tamazight/Berber in school.

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

Berber should be taught only to those who would like to learn it

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

I would like to learn Tamazight/Berber

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

If you answered yes to the above question, please explain why you would like to learn Tamazight?

Promoting Arabic means promoting Islam. Promoting Tamazight/Berber does not.

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

The Tamazight language should be preserved and protected

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

I have noticed Tamazight/Berber on road signs and other public buildings in Rabat/Morocco

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

I am happy Tamazight was made an official state language

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

I think it's a good decision to put Tamazight on government signs

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

Maintaining the Tamazight culture is important

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

Maintaining the Tamazight language is important

1 Strongly agree    2 agree    3 neutral    4 disagree    5 Strongly disagree

Tamazight/Berber will eventually become an important language in Morocco

I think so    I do not think so    I am not sure

The most useful language in Morocco is

Moroccan Arabic    Tamazight    Standard Arabic    French    English

What languages should Moroccans learn in school?

Moroccan Arabic    Tamazight    Standard Arabic    French    English    Spanish    Other

The most prestigious language in Morocco is

Moroccan Arabic    Tamazight    Standard Arabic    French    English

Tamazight/Berber makes me think of... (check all that apply)

Backwardness    the Countryside    Diversity    Freedom    Poverty

If I could choose a new language to learn, I would choose:

Spanish    Tamazight    Other

Morocco is

An Arab country

A Berber/Amazigh country

Both

The Moroccan government should do more to promote Amazigh culture and language

Yes

No

Maybe

---

Please state the language(s) your father/mother use at home. Fill in the blank using the numbers in the chart below, depending on usage.

5 Always (100%)	4 Mostly (75%)	3 Frequently	2 (50%) Occasionally	1 (25%) Never (0%)
	Amazigh	French	Moroccan Arabic	MSA

At Home:

At School:

At Work:



## Appendix B

Table 9 *Mann Whitney Test Values and Statistical Significance*

Alpha Value : 0.05

### Test Statistics<sup>a</sup>

	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z	Asymp. Sig. (2- tailed)
Tamazight/Berber is a useful language in Morocco	2344.500	4055.500	-.391-	.695
It is useful to be able to speak both Arabic and Tamazight in Morocco	2143.500	3854.500	-1.245-	.213
All Moroccans should learn Tamazight/Berber in school.	2271.000	3982.000	-.711-	.477
Berber should be taught only to those who would like to learn it	2389.000	5959.000	-.212-	.832
I would like to learn Tamazight/Berber	2149.000	3860.000	-1.216-	.224
Promoting Arabic means promoting Islam. Promoting Tamazight/Berber does not.	2274.500	5844.500	-.723-	.469
The Tamazight language should be preserved and protected	2329.500	4040.500	-.470-	.638
I have noticed Tamazight/Berber on road signs and other public buildings in Rabat/Morocco	2135.500	5705.500	-1.301-	.193
I am happy Tamazight was made an official state language	1985.500	3696.500	-1.945-	.052
I think it is a good decision to put Tamazight on government signs	2072.500	3783.500	-1.572-	.116
Maintaining the Tamazight culture is important	2185.000	3896.000	-1.130-	.258
Maintaining the Tamazight language is important	1893.000	3604.000	-2.362-	.018

a. Grouping Variable: sex1 Sex: What is your sex?

Table 10 *Mann Whitney Test Values and Statistical Significance*

Alpha Value : 0.05

**Test Statistics<sup>a</sup>**

	Mann-Whitney U	Wilcoxon W	Z	Asymp. Sig. (2- tailed)
Tamazight/Berber is a useful language in Morocco	2449.000	4465.000	-.167-	.867
It is useful to be able to speak both Arabic and Tamazight in Morocco	2480.000	4496.000	-.036-	.971
All Moroccans should learn Tamazight/Berber in school.	2476.500	4492.500	-.051-	.959
Berber should be taught only to those who would like to learn it	2209.500	5369.500	-1.243-	.214
I would like to learn Tamazight/Berber	2464.500	5624.500	-.101-	.920
Promoting Arabic means promoting Islam. Promoting Tamazight/Berber does not.	2275.000	4291.000	-.946-	.344
The Tamazight language should be preserved and protected	2457.000	4473.000	-.138-	.891
I have noticed Tamazight/Berber on road signs and other public buildings in Rabat/Morocco	2474.500	5634.500	-.060-	.952
I am happy Tamazight was made an official state language	2267.500	5427.500	-.944-	.345
I think it's a good decision to put Tamazight on government signs	2317.000	5477.000	-.734-	.463
Maintaining the Tamazight culture is important	2351.000	5511.000	-.613-	.540
Maintaining the Tamazight language is important	2321.500	5481.500	-.719-	.472
I identify as Amazigh.	2398.000	5558.000	-.433-	.665

a. Grouping Variable: Age1: Age: What is your age?

Table 11 *Kruskal Wallis Test Values and Statistical Significance*

Alpha Value : 0.05

**Test Statistics<sup>a,b</sup>** Alpha Value : 0.05

	Chi-Square	df	Asymp. Sig.
Tamazight/Berber is a useful language in Morocco	24.556	2	.000
It is useful to be able to speak both Arabic and Tamazight in Morocco	17.970	2	.000
All Moroccans should learn Tamazight/Berber in school.	6.019	2	.049
Berber should be taught only to those who would like to learn it	.427	2	.808
I would like to learn Tamazight/Berber	31.423	2	.000
Promoting Arabic means promoting Islam. Promoting Tamazight/Berber does not.	2.643	2	.267
The Tamazight language should be preserved and protected	12.111	2	.002
I have noticed Tamazight/Berber in Rabat/Morocco	1.591	2	.451
I am happy Tamazight was made an official state language	8.445	2	.015
I think it's a good decision to put Tamazight on government signs	7.252	2	.027
Maintaining the Tamazight culture is important	8.674	2	.013
Maintaining the Tamazight language is important	13.320	2	.001

a. Kruskal Wallis Test

b. Grouping Variable: I identify as\_Amazigh: I identify as Amazigh.

## Appendix C

### Focus Group Personal Information Sheet

Age: \_\_\_\_\_ years old

Gender (please circle one): Male / Female

I consider myself Arab Amazigh/Berber Not Sure Both Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Language you speak at home:

1) Standard Arabic. 2) French 3) Moroccan Arabic 4) Amazigh 6) Amazigh and Moroccan

8) Other \_\_\_\_\_

Your current educational level: \_\_\_\_\_

Do you work: Yes/No Type of work: \_\_\_\_\_

Your father/mother or guardian's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix D

### Sample Focus Group Questions

1. Which language or languages do you think are the most important in Morocco? Why?
2. Which language do you most want to improve your level in? Why?
3. Do you think that the Amazigh language is accepted in Morocco? Why? Was it accepted in the past?
4. Do you agree with the change in the constitution adding Amazigh as an official language?
5. Do you plan on teaching your kids Amazigh? Why?
6. Do you think there has been a change in attitude towards the Amazigh language in Morocco? Why?
7. Why do you think Classical Arabic is or is not important to learn? What about Moroccan Arabic? Modern Standard Arabic?
8. Do you think Amazigh should be taught in school? Why?
9. What do you think is the best language for business in Morocco?
10. Do you think the teaching of Amazigh should be mandatory in school?
11. Do you think all Moroccans should learn Amazigh since it's an official language now?
12. Have you noticed any differences in road signs or commercials signs since 2011?
13. Why do you think they added Amazigh to the constitution?
14. Should the government do more to promote the Amazigh language? Why or why not?
15. What language or languages should primary/secondary/tertiary education be taught in? Why?

**Appendix E: Transcripts from Semi-Structured Interviews**  
(names have been changed)

**FOCUS GROUP 1**

1	INVESTIGATOR:	So, first question. Which language do you think is the most important language in Morocco? As a Moroccan.
2		French
3		French
4	GROUP:	Uh, French
5		English
6		
7	INVESTIGATOR:	For one of you that said French, can you tell me why you said French?
8	AMINA:	So, first if all French is what we in university we study in French. Plus, for example if someone came as a tourist to Morocco and if he doesn't Arabic or uh any other language like he only wants to to to go in a taxi, he would like if he speaks to him in French he would understand.
9		
10		
11	YAMNA:	Because it's our second language and it's because of the colonization.
12	INVESTIGATOR:	Does anybody think Arabic is the most important language?
13		SILENCE
14	INVESTIGATOR:	OK, you said English. Why do you think English is the most important?
15	HAJAR:	For me English is more important than French, because in the past was French but now and, in the future, it will be English. I have a friends that are preparing their PhD now and everything is in English. Nothing in French. Even me now, I learn now a masters in logistique, and all the articles everything I have to read is in English not French.
16		
17		
18		
19	INVESTIGATOR:	Which language do you most want to improve your level in?
20	GROUP:	ENGLISH
21	AMINA:	Right now? Spanish. Because I already speak French and English and now I need Spanish.
22	INVESTIGATOR:	Why did you say English?
23	NORA:	Because all the world now speak in English. If you go abroad, you need to speak English. All the article in the net is English. English is now...it's international.
24		
25	YAMNA:	It is the international language and I prefer to, I want to learn different languages but I prefer to focus only on one language so that I can speak fluently in one language.
26		
27	INVESTIGATOR:	OK, do you think that the Amazigh language the Berber language Tamazight is an important language.
28		
29	ITHRI:	Is it an important language? Well, I think it is because I am Amazigh and um and when I go to there are some cities where the citizens only speak Amazigh and if you go there the people even if they know Arabic they won't reply to you if you speak to them in Arabic. So, I think it's different from one city to another.
30		
31		
32		
33	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think it's an important language?
34	YAMNA:	I don't think so because it's only if you met in those places.
35	INVESTIGATOR:	So, some of you may not know so I will tell you know. In 2011, the constitution in Morocco was changed and they added Amazigh to the constitution. So now Morocco has two official state languages. Arabic and Amazigh. Do you agree with this change? Do you think it was a good idea? Or do you disagree with it. You're shaking your head.
36		
37		
38		
39	HAJAR:	I don't think so it's a good idea. If they included the English language it would be a good because they will not need it for the work. It won't help them. Maybe we can learn it just to have knowledge about it.
40		
41		
42	YAMNA:	I agree with her, but I think it can cut down on discrimination between citizens in Morocco, that's why we should learn and use this language.
43		
44	INVESTIGATOR:	So, do you think it was a good thing to change the constitution?
45	ITHRI:	Yea, I do. Yea, I think it's a good thing. I don't think it will help us to communicate in other countries but in Morocco we should first know our own languages and then learn others.
46		

47	NORA:	I think it's a good idea to combine these two languages because we may need uh to speak Amazigh.
48		For example, as my friend said before it cuts down the conflict between the two languages and the
49		people.
50	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think that the Amazigh language was accepted in the past?
51	AMINA:	No, I think it was more accepted than now because it is spoken more in the past than now.
52	ITHRI:	No, Amazigh was uh, I mean they didn't speak but now they speak, and everyone listen to them
53		and because of this now we made Amazigh our second language.
54	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you plan to teach your kids Amazigh?
55	AMINA:	No
56	GROUP:	NO
57	ITHRI:	For sure
58	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think there has been a change in attitude toward the language? You said yes there has been
59		a positive change. Do you think there has been a positive change?
60	YAMNA:	Yea because now a day's schools start to teach it in school. In high school and stuff... [
61	AMINA:	But only in public schools]
62	INVESTIGATOR:	How many of you have noticed Amazigh more visually?
63	NORA:	Yea, the tram station.
64	INVESTIGATOR:	You notice that it exists more than it did before?
65	GROUP:	YES
66	HAJAR:	Yes, official paper and on the buildings for government. You have Arabic, French and Amazigh.
67	INVESTIGATOR:	So, it's more visual now. And you notice the change...
68	GROUP:	YES
69	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think that is a good thing?
70	GROUP:	YES.
71	AMINA:	To be honest, I am indifferent about it. I don't speak Amazigh and I don't... I can't read what they
72		wrote in the tram station, so I don't care.
73	INVESTIGATOR:	Ok, do you think that it should be taught in school? Do you think it should be obligatory to be
74		taught in school?
75	GROUP:	NO
76	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think it should be optional?
77	GROUP:	YES
78	INVESTIGATOR:	Should schools be required to offer Amazigh in school?
79	GROUP:	YES
80	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think that all of the schools should have the option for students to learn Amazigh?
81	GROUP:	YES
82	INVESTIGATOR:	Why?
83	HAJAR:	I think we should learn other subjects more because they are more important like Sciences. That's
84		why it should be optional. Amazigh, we will only use it in Morocco and only with Amazigh people.
85		It should only be optional.
86	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think that all Moroccans should learn a little bit of Amazigh because it's an official
87		language now?
88	AMINA:	I think all Moroccan speak a little Amazigh. Like I know how to say. Sent Ma Zat but I don't know
89		what it means? I'm not sure what it means. Turns to Ithri. What does it mean?
90	ITHRI:	Do you speak Amazigh?
91		((Laughter))
92	INVESTIGATOR:	Does everybody know some Amazigh words?
93	GROUP:	YES
94	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you know some words?
95	GROUP:	No
96	HAJAR:	Maybe two words
97		((Laughter))
98	INVESTIGATOR:	Does anyone here identify as Amazigh?
99	ITHRI:	Yes, I do.
100	INVESTIGATOR:	Does anyone else here identify as Amazigh?
101	AMINA:	I identify as Moroccan. There is no Amazigh or Rabati or I don't know. There is only Moroccan. If
102		you are born in Morocco, on Moroccan soil... you are Moroccan. Period. Not Amazigh.

103	INVESTIGATOR:	OK
104		((Laughter))
105	INVESTIGATOR:	What language should they learn in school? From primary school?
106	GROUP:	English
107		English
108		More than French
109	INVESTIGATOR:	So, you think that all public schools should switch to English from the beginning?
110	GROUP:	YES
111	INVESTIGATOR:	Arabic French English from the beginning. The three of them.
112	GROUP:	YES
113		No, it's gonna be hard.
114		You know they study English too late and it makes it hard to understand.
115	AMINA:	I studied most of my life in private school but two years I was in public school. and uh they didn't
116		even teach. They didn't give us two hours for English and when I went to my other school I had
117		difficulties catching up to the other students and even French.
118	INVESTIGATOR:	So, English, French, Arabic mandatory from the beginning and Amazigh optional?
119	GROUP:	YES
120	HAJAR:	You know in this age you can catch a lot of things.
121	YAMNA:	French is only important here. If we want to have a work or something here. It's only for countries
122		who speak French. We need English.
123	NORA:	If we change everything than the whole system should change to English. Everything. The whole
124		society should change.
125	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think that Tamazight or Amazigh will eventually become an important language in
126		Morocco?
127	YAMNA:	Yes, because they decided to. They chose to make their own new year and they are celebrating their
128		own new year. In Morocco and in Algeria and both the countries decided to celebrate the new year
129		for Amazigh.
130	ITHRI:	Maybe, I don't know. Not everyone can speak Amazigh. Just few people from few cities and not
131		everyone is interested to learn it. People think it's not really an interesting language, so I don't
132		know if it will have a future in Morocco.
133	AMINA:	Let's be real for a second. No offense to anyone here who is Amazigh. I think we should in
134		Morocco they shouldn't teach Amazigh it should just be something that we learn at home with a
135		grandmother or with our mothers. Because we're not going to speak Amazigh outside of morocco
136		and it's not going to to give us an advantage like other languages that are useful outside of
137		morocco. We're not going to learn anything in Amazigh. Why should we waste our time?
138	HAJAR:	Also, it's gonna be hard because there are more than 10 languages(dialects) I mean there is Rifi,
139		Soussi...How can they make it all in one language?
140	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think that languages are only important as a tool or are there other reasons why you might
141		learn a language?
142	AMINA:	I mean I studied French because I had to but studying it made it easier to learn English because
143		words are similar, some words are similar and also like now I am trying to learn Spanish and its
144		easier now because I already know French. So, I guess yea languages are like a tool. They should
145		be.
146	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you speak Amazigh?
147	ITHRI:	Yea
148	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you plan to teach your kids?
149	ITHRI:	Yea
150	INVESTIGATOR:	Why?
151	ITHRI:	Because it is my origin. I am really proud, especially when I meet another one who is Amazigh
152		even if he is not from the same city as me we can understand each other. I have many friends that
153		are Amazigh from different areas and we can understand each other.
154	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think that the language and the people are important for Morocco's history?
155	YAMNA:	I don't know?
156	GROUP:	Yes
157	HAJAR:	I think even if we don't use it Yea we have to preserve it because it is a part of our history.
158	NORA:	I think only in the cities where they speak it. I mean here it is useless



159	YAMNA:	Yea, I think we should preserve because it is one of our languages.
160	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think the government should do more to promote Tamazight? Are they doing enough?
161	YAMNA:	Tamazight is something that is Moroccan. We are proud that they are here. I mean it's gonna be better if they make it better. But only for who want to.
162		
163	ITHRI:	I think they should apply the plans they have. They are not applying it. They should just apply what they have in their mind. Like as we said, this language must be an option in schools. And there should be maybe some language centers something like that.
164		
165		
166	INVESTIGATOR:	What languages do you speak at home?
167	AMINA:	Moroccan Arabic. With my cousins or people who are younger sometimes English or French.
168	ITHRI:	For me it's Arabic and Amazigh
169	YAMNA:	Arabic and English with my sisters
170	HAJAR:	Arabic
171	INVESTIGATOR:	Moroccan Arabic, right?
172	GROUP:	YES
173	INVESTIGATOR:	What about with your friends?
174	GROUP:	French Arabic and English
175	INVESTIGATOR:	French Arabic and English
176	GROUP:	French Arabic and English
177	YAMNA:	Do you ever get confused?
178		NO
179	INVESTIGATOR:	Sometimes you forget the word in Arabic and you say it in French or English.
180	GROUP:	Do you think that teachers should teach you in all of those languages...like a mix?
181	INVESTIGATOR:	YEA
182		YEA
183	GROUP:	YEA, WHY NOT
184	INVESTIGATOR:	OK. I think that's all the time we have. Thank you.

**FOCUS GROUP 2**  
(names have been changed)

1	INVESTIGATOR:	Great, So the first question is. Which language do you think is the most important language in Morocco?
2		
3	GROUP:	French
4		I think it is English and French
5		I think for work also it's English
6	SARAH:	I think English is starting to be to take French's place. We used to have French but now English is on her way.
7		
8	YOUSSEF:	I think it depends on when and where you are using this language. When it comes to professional things French is more important right now, but I think that English is...[
9		
10	SARAH:	No, I disagree.]
11	YASMINA:	No, I disagree. If you are talking about some professional things like societies it is English.
12		Because they are working in documents that are in English.
13	YOUSSEF:	No, I am talking about companies right now. You have to have French.
14	YASMINA:	No, you need English.
15	YOUSSEF:	If you do internship in a company, you speak in French.
16	INVESTIGATOR:	What do you think is the order of importance?
17	YOUSSEF:	French and then English
18	GROUP:	I think it is German
19	YOUSSEF:	Can we consider Darija as a language?
20	INVESTIGATOR:	Yes. Yes, you can.
21	YOUSSEF:	Ok, then I think it is the most important language.
22	INVESTIGATOR:	Which language do you most want to improve your level in?
23	GROUP:	French
24		English
25		French
26		English
27		English
28	INVESTIGATOR:	Those of you that said English....Why do you want to improve your English?
29	GROUP:	Because of school
30	YOUSSEF:	I think it is taking place over French. You need English for the future.
31	YASMINA:	First of all, it's good to learn other languages. Uh like not especially for work or for studies it's good to learn Spanish or English
32		
33	YOUSSEF:	And right now, I am thinking of studying Chinese because I think it is the future.
34	YASMINA:	But most people in China speak English...
35	YOUSSEF:	That's true.
36	INVESTIGATOR:	Now, we are going to shift a little bit. What are your opinions about Amazigh? Do you think the Amazigh language is accepted in Morocco?
37		
38	YASMINA:	Not exactly, for people who doesn't speak Amazigh. I don't think they accept this language 100%
39	YOUSSEF:	I think it is accepted and I don't have a problem with people who speak Amazigh, but I don't think it should be taught in school. I don't think it's important for our kids to learn it.
40		
41	INVESTIGATOR:	Is there anyone that is Amazigh here?
42	YOUSSEF:	Yes me. Laughter
43	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you speak it?
44	YOUSSEF:	No, I don't
45	INVESTIGATOR:	Do your parents?
46	YOUSSEF:	A little bit
47	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think it is more accepted now or in the past?
48	YASMINA:	It is more accepted now
49	YOUSSEF:	Yea, they are thinking of teaching it in schools.
50	YASMINA:	And they are speaking it on TV.
51		((Pause))

52	INVESTIGATOR:	The constitution was changed, and they added Amazigh as an official state language so now
53		Morocco has two official state languages Classical Arabic and Amazigh. Do you agree with this
54		change?
55	GROUP:	Yea
56		Yea
57	YASMINA:	Yea, because we don't have to forget that the first language in Morocco that they spoke is
58		Amazigh. It is a truth that we can't deny.
59	YOUSSEF:	If we deny the Amazigh language. We deny a whole lot of people and we deny a whole culture
60	YAZID:	Yea I am agree with it. Yes, because the language pre-Islam is Amazigh.
61	INVESTIGATOR:	Does anybody disagree?
62		((Silence))
63	INVESTIGATOR:	Why do you think they changed it?
64	YASMINA:	Politics
65	YOUSSEF:	The country was fragile. They tried to make solutions to make the people come together. They
66		made it an official language to make people shut their mouth because people were complaining.
67	INVESTIGATOR:	The next question. Do, you any of you plan on teaching your kids Amazigh?
68	GROUP:	No
69	YASMINA:	If they want to learn it then yes but not to force them to know it.
70	GROUP:	SAME
71	YOUSSEF:	This time I think is wasted. I think he should use this time to learn another language.
72	INVESTIGATOR:	Ok, so you said that there has been a change in attitude toward Amazigh. Why do you think there is
73		a change towards Tamazight?
74	GROUP:	Because now it is recognized.
75	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think it should be taught in school?
76	GROUP:	No
77		No
78	YASMINA:	No, I think that time is wasted.
79	MEHDI:	I think every language is important. We must learn French Arabic and also, we must learn Amazigh
80		because it is a part of your culture. It's not necessary but you can learn Amazigh to understand
81		Amazigh people.
82	SARAH:	But you're only going to speak with Amazigh people. Not like English you're going to use it with a
83		large number of people. But if you had the choice you are going to choose English.
84	MEHDI:	I choose both. No one is forcing me to choose between them. I chose Amazigh to talk with
85		Amazigh people and it's one of my languages and I chose English to speak with foreigners.
86	INVESTIGATOR:	Have you noticed any differences in the signs in Morocco? Like government signs have you
87		noticed any differences.
88	YASMINA:	They added Amazigh to everything.
89	INVESTIGATOR:	So, it is more visual.
90	GROUP:	Yes
91	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think that is a good thing?
92	SARAH:	Just for people who are Amazigh
93	YASMINA:	It's not good it's not bad. Its neutral
94	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think the government should do more to promote Amazigh language?
95	GROUP:	No
96		I don't think so
97		No
98	YOUSSEF:	I think things right now are good. We don't need to promote it anymore.
99	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think it will eventually become an important language in the future?
100	GROUP:	I don't think so
101		It's difficult
102	YASMINA:	It depends what they gonna do know. If they promote the language. If they start to teach it in
103		school, then maybe it will become important.
104	SARAH:	I don't think so because even Amazigh people they are speaking Arabic.
105	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think the Amazigh language will die in Morocco?
106	GROUP:	No, it won't
107		NO

108	MEHDI:	There are a lot of people speaking Amazigh.
109	YOUSSEF:	And they are teaching their kids
110	YASMINA:	And they are really attached to their culture and language. It is their identity.
111	INVESTIGATOR:	What languages should they teach in primary school for like kids or children?
112	GROUP	Arabic, French and English.
113	YASMINA:	Not even Arabic. Less than French
114	YOUSSEF:	We should not forget our heritage
115	YASMINA:	They can just know the basics because after we basically don't use Arabic anymore in our schools
116	SARAH:	Even now we speak better in French and English than Arabic. We learn Arabic since primary
117		school, but we don't use it.
118	MEHDI:	I think that for public schools there is a huge difference between public and private schools. Public
119		schools don't know how to talk in French or in English.
120	YASMINA:	Not all
121	MEHDI:	But the majority. And it's not well taught.
122	INVESTIGATOR:	So, should teach French and English earlier?
123	GROUP:	YES
124	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think that Moroccan Darija should be used in school?
125	GROUP:	NO
126	YOUSSEF:	All the countries learn in their own language
127	YASMINA:	Because they are strong.
128	SARAH:	We are weak
129	MEHDI:	I think that Darija is not a well-structured language. They don't have rules. It's just a spoken
130		language.
131	SARAH:	Maybe Arabic
132	INVESTIGATOR:	So, should people start speaking Standard Arabic in Morocco?
133	GROUP:	NO
134	YASMINA:	No, it would be weird
135	INVESTIGATOR:	So, what languages should they teach in school?
136	GROUP:	French and English
137	INVESTIGATOR:	So, maybe Morocco will become a French and English country.
138	YASMINA:	Yes, we are on our way.
139	YOUSSEF:	We study in Arabic in high school and then we switch to French for university
140	YASMINA:	And then for PhD it's English
141	YOUSSEF:	And it's confusing for Moroccans
142	INVESTIGATOR:	SO, they should just pick one language the whole way through?
143	GROUP:	YES
144	YOUSSEF:	Yea not change the language just choose one.
145	INVESTIGATOR:	Ok. Which one?
146	GROUP:	English
147		French
148		Arabic
149		English
150		English
151		English
152	INVESTIGATOR:	OK
153	INVESTIGATOR:	Do you think that the Amazigh language is an important part of Moroccan history and culture? Are
154		you proud of this part?
155		YES
156	GROUP:	Yes, of course
157		Yes
158		Yes
159	INVESTIGATOR:	What languages do you speak at home?
160	GROUP:	DARIJA
161	INVESTIGATOR:	What about with your siblings or people younger?
162	YASMINA:	Sometimes Darija sometimes French or English. You know sometimes just to practice the
163		language, so we don't forget it.

164	YOUSSEF:	You know when we are speaking in general we are mixing Darija with you know French and
165		English
166	INVESTIGATOR:	So, Darija is like mix of these languages
167	GROUP:	YEA
168	INVESTIGATOR:	Should they teach this mix in school?
169	GROUP:	NO
170		No, it's not good
171	INVESTIGATOR:	What languages do you speak in school?
172		French
173		French
174		French and English
175	GROUP:	English
176		Some classes in Arabic
177	INVESTIGATOR:	Like?
178	YOUSSEF:	Like Economics. Some classes in Economics because they think we can do business with like
179		countries from the Gulf.
180	INVESTIGATOR:	Ok, I think that's it. Thank you.